INDIA ANTIQUA

Ph Vogel

KERN INSTITUTE - LEYDEN

INDIA ANTIQUA

A VOLUME OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

PRESENTED BY HIS FRIENDS AND PUPILS TO

JEAN PHILIPPE VOGEL, C.I.E.

ON THE OCCASION OF THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS DOCTORATE

LEYDEN
E. J. BRILL
1947

PREFACE

In the belief that the 50th anniversary of Professor Vogel's graduation as Doctor in Philology at the University of Amsterdam would be a welcome occasion for his colleagues and pupils to express their feelings of esteem and gratitude, we invited them to contribute to a volume of Oriental Studies to be presented to him. The result fully justified our expectation and the initiative which, as a matter of course, was taken by the Kern Institute, founded by Professor Vogel and promoted by him with such untiring devotion. We are particularly indebted to Messrs E. J. Brill, Leyden, who kindly undertook to publish this volume.

We proffer our thanks to the authors of the papers in this volume for their ready cooperation. During the printing the sad news of the death of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy reached us, but his last paper could be included in this volume. The vignette on the cover was designed by Lieut.-Col. Van Erp. It was inspired by one of the circular reliefs of candi Panataran in Eastern Java. To understand his choice it is necessary to know that the Dutch name 'Vogel' means 'bird'.

Certain circumstances made it impossible for some of the friends whom Professor Vogel made during the years of his work in India to take part in this tribute. One of his best friends, Sir Richard Burn, died just before the news of our plan could reach him. Some of his former colleagues, among whom we only mention his old friends Hargreaves, Marshall and Oldham, and his old guru, Professor C. C. Uhlenbeck, sent us their best wishes, deploring that old age prevented them from contributing actively to the volume.

The reputation of Professor Vogel as a scholar is best expressed by Sir John Marshall, from whose reply to our invitation we may be permitted to quote the following sentence:

"There is no one living to whom I would so gladly pay my tribute of admiration as Professor Vogel, who collaborated with me for so many years in India and for whose achievements in the field of Indian Archaeology I entertain the highest possible esteem."

Leyden, December 15th 1947

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LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS

«MAITREYA IN KETUMATĪ» BY CHU HAO-KU

by

LUDWIG BACHHOFER
University of Chicago

Three walls of the big hall dedicated to a survey exhibition of Chinese art in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaelogy in Toronto are covered with enormous frescoes. Two of them, on opposite walls, depict long processions of stately persons. They obviously belong together. Bishop White established their identity as the deities of the Northern and the Southern Dipper. The task was most difficult, and has been solved in an admirable manner [1]).

These two Taoist paintings flank the third one that is radically different in character. Its central figure can be easily recognized as Maitreya, the coming Buddha, for he sits on his throne with both legs pending, in western fashion. White calls the picture a "Paradise of Maitreya"; whether this designation is correct, depends on the interpretation of the scenes on either side. To the left a lady, to the right a gentleman are being tonsured. They evidently are persons of royal rank, surrounded by a number of human and celestial attendants. White thinks that these scenes illustrate historical events, the initiation into the Buddhist order of the Empress Dowager Hu of the Northern Wei (525-528), and of the Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty (502-549) [2]). I find myself unable to accept this interpretation, and the year 1238 A.D. as the date when the painting was done.

The Buddhist fresco was known to have come from the Hsing Hua Ssŭ, the "Monastery of Joyful Transformation", situated nine miles south of Chi-shan in Southern Shansi. With his customary zeal and energy, Bishop White did his utmost to get as exact information as possible about the former history of the painting. To this end, he had two Chinese students make investigations on the spot in the summer of 1938 in order to amplify or correct the somewhat vague reports about the original position of the picture, and to look for an inscription which might give its date. Such an inscription was stated to have been

1) William Charles WHITE: *Chinese Temple Frescoes. A Study of Three Wall-Paintings of the Thirteenth Century*. Toronto 1940.

2) *Ibid.*, p. 137 ff.

"on the wall" of the Main Hall by Dr. Li Chi, who visited the monastery in 1926.

The findings of the two students are published by Bishop White in Chinese with an English translation. It turns out that two monasteries called Hsing Hua Ssŭ exist in the vicinity of Chi-shan, one known as the Northern, the other as the Southern Monastery. The latter place is in ruins, and must be ruled out as the former home of the Toronto painting.

The Northern Monastery has two halls, the Northern and the Southern Hall. Both originally had wall paintings, parts of which were sold by the abbot in 1926. What was left behind shows that those of the Southern Hall were secular in theme, and done in a style that would date them about 1500 A.D., in the judgment of the students. The secular subject matter excludes the Southern Hall as the place whence the "Paradise" came. There remains but the Northern Hall, "the most important building". Fragments *in situ* of the original decoration prove that the walls were covered with Buddhist paintings. The frescoes of the east and west walls (the gable ends), had disappeared except a few bits in the corners; on each of the north and south walls ten figures of divinities could be discerned. All of them on the northern wall were ruined by rain; they were painted over an older fresco which the students believe to date either from the latter part of the Sung, or from the Liao (907-1168) or the Chin (1115-1234) dynasties.

Had the students taken the trouble to note the size of the walls, it might have been easier to determine the original position of the Toronto fresco. Normally, one would expect a configuration with Maitreya as the principal figure to adorn the north wall.

The inscription mentioned above was found by the two investigators, and copied. Bishop White's translation runs.

> "In the courtyard [it is recorded that] provision was made for the painting of the Lord [Buddha] of the Great Hero Hall:
> The teacher-priest, the monk An gave land.
> The teacher-priest, the monk Ning gave land.
> The monk Ning also gave 12 *mou* of land.
> The provisional Han-lin poet-scholar who painted the picture was Chu Hao-ku, of Hsiang-ling Hsien, and his pupil was Chang Po-yüan. The Great Yüan State, the period *wu-hsü* (A.D. 1234), in the mid-autumn month, on the fourteenth growing-leaf [day] the work was completed."

Unfortunately the students did not say where they found this inscription. But by confronting the date-paragraph, as recorded by Li Chi, with that of the students' report, Bishop White correctly deduced that the inscription must be the same which Li had found "on the wall". The wording is identical, with one strange exception: Dr. Li read 戊戌 *wu-hsü* which is the year 35 of the sexagesimal cycle; the students read 慶申 *ch'ing-shēn* which does not exist as a cyclical combination. It is a safe conclusion that the two characters denoting the year were so blurred as to make their reading more or less guesswork. Considering its importance, I presume that the students were expressly told to look out for

this inscription and especially for the passage with the date. They evidently saw more than Li did; and took the first character for 庆, the simple form of 慶 [3]). This, however, might well have been mistaken for 庚 *kēng* which is one of the Heavenly Stems. But I am at a loss to understand how anyone could read 戌 for 申, or vice versa, indistinct as the original character might have been. Be it as it may, one cannot simply dismiss the students' version; and has, therefore, to reckon with four possibilities: 戊戌 *wu-hsü* = 35; 戊申 *wu-shēn* = 45; 庚戌 *kēng-hsü* = 47; and 庚申 *kēng-shēn* = 57. Bishop White accepted *wu-hsü* for the reasons given above, I think *kēng-shēn* the more likely reading.

Yüan was the dynastic title adopted by the Mongols in China. Since the territory where the fresco was painted was taken from the Chin by the Mongols in 1234, Bishop White thinks that the title was then already in use, and thus arrives at the date A.D. 1238. But Yüan was only assumed in 1271 by Kublai, after he was elected Khan by his army in 1260. It is, therefore, a little rash to say that "the *wu-hsü* year of the Great Yüan State could only be the year 1238 A. D." In fact, this date is out of question; it could denote, however, the years 1298 and 1358. The other possible cyclical combinations would indicate the years 1308 (*wu-shēn*), 1310 (*kēng-hsü*), and 1320 (*kēng-shēn*). This means that the exact date of the frescoes in, or from, the Main Hall of the Hsing Hua Ssŭ is anything but certain. It is true that the range between the various possible dates is not very large; more important is the fact that all these possible dates, except those corresponding to *wu-hsü*, fall into the first half of the XIVth century.

A date in the first half of the XIVth century is borne out by an analysis of style. Help comes here from three more wall paintings, now in American museums, two of them in Philadelphia and one in Kansas City. The latter is known to have come from the Kuang Shēng Ssŭ, a monastery situated twelve miles southeast of the county town of Chao-ch'ēng, also in Southern Shansi. When shown photographs of the Philadelphia frescoes which were said to have come from the Moon Hill Monastery, five miles north of Ch'ing-hua Chēn in Western Honan, the chief abbot of the Kuang Shēng Ssŭ recognized them as the paintings that once adorned the walls of a hall in his Lower Monastery (the Kuang Shēng Ssŭ consists of an Upper and a Lower Monastery) [4]). All the edifices of this monastic complex were destroyed by an earthquake in A.D. 1305. The report on this event and the subsequent rebuilding of the temples was engraved on a stela that was set up in 1319. This report was published by L. Sickman [5]). Though everything and everybody is mentioned in it, not one word is said about paintings. Mr. Sickman is absolutely right when writing: "It is reasonable to assume that this account of the earthquake of 1305 sets a *terminus ad quo* (obviously a slip for *a quo*) date for the production of any of the wall-paintings at Kuang Shēng Ssŭ".

The frescoes in Philadelphia and Kansas City are, therefore, later than A.D. 1319.

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3) This possibility was pointed out to me by Dr. Ch'ēn Mēng-chia

4) WHITE, *l. c.*, p. 23.

5) L. SICKMAN: *Wall-paintings of the Yüan Period.* Revue des Arts Asiatiques, 1937, pp. 57 ff.

They are, on the other hand, identical in style with the Buddhist wall painting in Toronto; they are, of course, not identical in form, being the works of other artists. That style, characterized by an abundance of clustered lines and curled edges, was evidently the style of the epoch for Buddhist themes; that it was not restricted to monumental compositions is shown by a scroll in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston which depicts "Hārītī nursing a Child, and Attendants" [6]. This painting is signed by Wang Chēn-p'ēng who is recorded as having worked from cc. 1312-1320.

This is not all. The same style was also used in monumental religious sculpture of that time [7]. A good specimen of that kind of sculpture is the Kuan-yin from a temple at Tsē Chou Fu in Shansi, illustrated by Bishop White in fig. 15 of his book. One finds here the same restlessness in the treatment of the garment, and the same means to produce this effect, as in the frescoes from this province and of this time.

In view of this evidence, there is no choice than to date the Toronto fresco in the XIVth century; and since there occur some well-known titles in the inscription of the Main Hall, I propose the following translation:

> "In the courtyard the remunerations [provided for] the paintings in the Great Hero Main Hall [are recorded]:
> The Expounder of the Sūtras, the śramana, the priest An gave land.
> The Expounder of the Sūtras, the śramana, the priest Ning gave land.
> The priest Ning also gave 12 *mou* of land.
> The drawing and painting was done by the *tai-chao* Chu Hao-ku from Hsiang-ling Hsien and his pupil Chang Po-yüan. The time when the work was completed was the cyclical year *kēng-shēn* of the Great Yüan State, in the mid-autumn month, when the *ming* plant produced its fourteenth leaf (middle of September A.D. 1320)."

Tai-chao was the highest rank given to a painter or sculptor who was a member of the Han-lin Academy. The presence of this title alone makes it impossible to date the painting before the complete conquest of China by the Mongols. The Han-lin Academy went south with the Sung in 1127, and was, like all their institutions, taken over by the Yüan, but not before 1271.

The main figure of the Toronto fresco is easily identified as Maitreya, on account of his characteristic posture; nor is there any difficulty in recognizing the Bodhisattva at his left as Mañjuśrī, because he ostentatiously displays a book, his usual attribute. This almost automatically makes the Bodhisattva at the other side a Samantabhadra, and not an Avalokiteśvara, as White proposes.

The trinity of Maitreya is exactly patterned after that of Sākyamuni whose Bodhisattvas

6) O. SIRÉN: *Peintures Chinoises dans les Collections Américaines*, pl. 114.

7) BACHHOFER: *Zur Geschichte der chinesischen Plastik* Ostasiat. Zeitschrift 1938, pp. 129 ff.

PLATE I

MAITREYA IN KETUMATI BY CHU HAO-KU

Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology

are Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra [8]). This also explains the two monks standing behind Maitreya's throne: the young one corresponds to Ānanda, the old one to Kāśyapa; they are not the Genius of Good and the Genius of Evil, as they had been called by Petrucci.

The key to the picture, however, lies in the conversion scenes depicted at either side. Bishop White simply states that they represent historical events, the initiation of the Empress Dowager Hu and the Emperor Wu. No evidence is offered for this interpretation; it is only said that the conversion of these two rulers as theme of a wall painting in the "Monastery of Joyful Conversion" "would appear to be more than a coincidence".

But the career of the Empress Dowager Hu makes such an interpretation highly improbable. She certainly was a devout Buddhist; yet her conduct as regent for her minor son was such as to make the ministers confine her for five years, from 520 to 525; in this year she resumed power; in 528 she poisoned her son, the little emperor, then a boy of fourteen, and put another child, this one only three years old, on the throne. This was too much: the people rebelled, Hu fled to a monastery and became a nun, hoping this act would at least save her life. It was a vain hope; she and the illegitimate new emperor were thrown into a river, and drowned. The doings of this colorful lady would not appear to warrant a claim as a model of religious behaviour.

In fact, the two persons in royal costumes are not historical, but legendary figures, well-known from those Buddhist scriptures that deal with the coming of Maitreya. The texts are:

(佛說觀)彌勒(菩薩)下生經
(Fo Shuo Kuan) Mi-lo (P'u-sa) Hsia Shēng Ching (Taishō 453; Nanjio 208); translated into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa A.D. 303,

(佛說)彌勒下生經
(Fo Shuo) Mi-lo Hsia Shēng Ching (Taishō 454; Nanjio 205), translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva in A.D. 402;

(佛說)彌勒成佛經
(Fo Shuo) Mi-lo Chēng Fo Ching (Taishō 456; Nanjio 209), translated by Kumārajīva in 402;

(佛說)彌勒下生成佛經
(Fo Shuo) Mi-lo Hsia Shēng Chēng Fo Ching (Taishō 465; Nanjio 207), translated by I-ching in A.D. 701.

All these texts seem to go back to the same original which probably carried the title *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa* "Prophecies about Maitreya". There is one more text, in "northern Āryan = Sakish = old Khotanī" which was edited and translated by Ernst Leumann under the title *Maitreya-samiti* [9]). All of them tell the same story, with slight variations, namely the

8) Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta are the two Bodhisattvas who form a triad with Amitābha.

9) Strassburg, 1919.

descent of Maitreya from the Tuṣita Heaven, the selection of his parents, the conversions of king Saṅkha of Ketumatī, of his queen Syāmavatī, of Maitreya's mother Brahmavatī, and of hosts of other people. There can be no possible doubt that the two lateral scenes in the Toronto fresco represent the initiation of king Saṅkha, and of Brahmavatī, as told in the version Nanjio 208. The other texts narrate how Saṅkha, with 84 000 subjects, and several other persons with 84 000 adherents each, left their homes; amongst them is mentioned the heir-apparent with his usual 84 000 followers. 208 tells a slightly different story: Saṅkha becomes a monk after having made his eldest son king; it expressly mentions the gift of jewels to the barber who shaves his head; it does not mention Syāmavatī, but only Brahmavatī by name. The boy crying beside the king in the Toronto picture is the heir-apparent; he cries not because of his father becoming a monk, but because he must remain a layman when all the world rushes into the orders. The cherub that can be seen emerging from the folds on the lady's bosom is clearly a hint at the birth of Maitreya. The type taken as model is, of course, that of Queen Māyā giving birth to Gautama. It is highly interesting to note that a stereotyped pattern was followed in literature as well as in painting.

Apart from its characteristic way of rendering form, the Toronto fresco differs in an important respect from earlier representations of the same theme: the conversion scenes blend with the solemn and actionless central group into a whole. This was the final solution of a problem that had occupied the artists for many centuries. In Cave 77 of Tun-huang (middle of the VIIth century), Maitreya, four Bodhisattvas and the four Lokapālas are symetrically arrayed within the narrow space of a shallow stage. This quiet configuration (the term understood in the sense of several figures standing together in stately poses) was placed within a rectangular frame; the episodes connected with the advent of Maitreya on earth, viz. the conversion of various kinds of people, were relegated to tall flanking panels [10]. The "Paradise of Maitreya" in the Kondō of the Hōryūji (beginning of the VIIIth century), quite in keeping with the monumental tendencies of that time, brings only the impressive gathering of Maitreva and his attendants; the scenes of conversion were not depicted [11]. The "Paradise of Maitreva" of Cave 144 in Tun-huang was painted in the VIIIth century; it closely follows the decorative schema that evolved since the beginning of that century for the representation of Amitābha's Paradise of the West, for the scene is

10) P. PELLIOT: *Les Grottes de Touen-houang*, Pl. 154, 156.

11) It is disappointing to see that the long interesting, but somewhat rambling discussion of the iconography of the four Buddhas in the Kondō by Naitō ends in mistaking Maitreya for Bhaiṣajyaguru (NAITŌ Tōichirō: *The Wall-Paintings of Hōryūji*. Baltimore 1943, pp. 88 ff., 102 ff.). It is true that the place taken by the Buddha sitting in western fashion (*ibid.*, pl. 7, 15) should be that of Bhaiṣajyaguru; but this pose was always and exclusively reserved for Maitreya as evinced by innumerable paintings and sculptures. The "medicine jar" revealed by infra-red ray photographs in the left hand of this Buddha does not contradict the identification (*ibid.*, p. 103, note 1): one of Maitreya's symbols is a little vase (*kalaśa*). In a scroll from Tun-huang that undoubtedly depicts his career in Ketumatī, the conversion of Śaṅkha and Syāmavatī, and many other events, Maitreya also holds a little vase in his left hand (A. WALEY: *Catalogue of Paintings recovered from Tun-huang*, London 1931, nr. XI, p. 16 ff.)

laid in a beautiful garden with walled-in streams [12]). The stage is now wide and deep, receding in several parallel layers; space is constructed with the help of a vanishing axis; an increase in personnel and accessories brings about an effect of great wealth and variety. Maitreya appears twice; on top he sits as Bodhisattva in the Tuṣita Heaven, and only this section could properly be called his paradise where his followers might be reborn; beneath, he sits as a Buddha, i.e. after his birth in Ketumatī. Along the lower edge of the picture, in the first plane, the conversion of Syāmavatī (or Brahmavatī) and of Saṅkha are represented. The figures are smaller than Maitreya, but not smaller than those surrounding him.

The introduction of these episodes into the main configuration had consequences that were not always wholesome, from the standpoint of art. In the fresco on the west wall of Cave V near Wan Fo Hsia, in the region of Tun-huang, Maitreya and his usual attendants sit in the middle of a vast landscape that is dotted with tiny men and women, enacting the divers incidents that once are going to happen. The size and strict symmetry of the main group do not suffice to keep the picture together; nor can their display of dignity compete with the action of man. What goes on around the future Buddha inevitably detracts the spectator's interest from him [13]).

This painting dates from the IXth century; the schema remained unchanged in the next one, as can be seen in the Caves 8, 74 and 117 of Tun huang [14]).

It is possible that this luxuriant growth of the narrative element was a phenomenon restricted to Kansu and Turfan, then under a strong Uighur influence. Too little is known about the state of monumental religious painting in contemporary central China as to permit a definite opinion on the subject; and the same holds for the following centuries. So much can be said, however, of the Toronto fresco that it shows a new, and entirely satisfactory solution: by raising, in a literal sense, the conversion scenes of Brahmavatī and Saṅkha to the level of the future Buddha, it was possible to make them integral parts of the configuration. It is unlikely that this was the personal achievement of Chu Hao-ku, the artist. The larger part of the picture is rather hackneyed in form; the painters relied heavily on formulae for whole figures and parts of them. One can hardly see Chu in the role of an ingenious innovator, though it is tempting to credit him with those figures that distinguish themselves rather strikingly by their subtle and delicate rendering from the hard and lifeless rest.

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12) P. PELLIOT, *ibid.*, Pl. 317.

13) Langdon WARNER: *Buddhist Wall-Paintings*, Cambridge 1938, pl. 30 ff. Warner calls the conversion scenes "the ceremony of initiation into the Vairocana sect of Buddhism as it was practised in eighth and ninth century China" (p. 23). They represent, of course, the tonsure of Saṅkha and his female counterpart.

14) PELLIOT, *l.c.*, pl. 19 (Cave 8); Pl. 138 (Cave 74); Pl. 208 (Cave 117).

A NEW INSCRIBED IMAGE OF A YAKSHA

by

K. D. BAJPAI
Curzon Museum, Mathurā

Recently a unique Yaksha image (Mus. Reg. No. 3232) has been acquired for the Mathurā Museum. It is made of the well known spotted red sandstone of Mathurā and measures 2′ 3″ × 1′ 3½″ × 6″. The Yaksha, as he is called in the inscription, is seated on a *paryaṅka*, with his feet on the pedestal of the image. He wears a loose *dhoti* and several ornaments consisting of a crown (*mukuṭa*) decorated with lotuses and pearls, earrings (*kuṇḍalas*) embossed with lions emitting pearls (*kīrttimukhas*), an elaborate torque (*graiveyaka*) and armlets. In his right hand he holds a round fruit, probably a lemon (*bijaurā*) or a pomegranate, while in the left he holds a jug of wine. His nicely trimmed thin moustaches are remarkable. There is an undecorated round halo behind him. The Yaksha, as usual, is potbellied. The projecting part of stone below the pedestal indicates that the image was fixed to some structure and was worshipped. The image is almost complete and well-preserved. It comes from the village of Maholi, about 3 miles south-west of Mathurā, from where an interesting Bacchanalian group was discovered a few years ago [1]).

On the pedestal there is a Brāhmī inscription of about the end of the 3rd century A.D. in corrupt Sanskrit. It is in two lines and reads as follows: —

L. 1 — mahārā[ja] grahaḥ Yakshaḥ Dharman[i]ty[o]vi
L. 2 — jñyā[pa]yati kare devaprasāta(daḥ).

It is rather difficult to make out the real sense of the inscription. It can however be rendered as 'The Mahārāja, Graha Yaksha called Dharmanitya, makes it known that in his hand there is the *prasāda* of the god.'

1) V. S. AGRAWALA, *Handbook of the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Mathurā*, (1939), p. 31, pl. XI, fig. 24.

A NEW INSCRIBED IMAGE OF A YAKṢA

YAKṢA FROM MAHOLI, CURZON MUSEUM, MUTTRA

In none of the numerous Yaksha images discovered so far at Mathurā do we find the mention of the name 'Yaksha'. Moreover a Yaksha named 'Dharmanitya' is not yet known from any other source. The word *Graha* occuring before Yaksha in the present inscription also offers a problem. Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy on the basis of Hopkin's *Epic Mythology* (pp. 145, 229) says that "some *Yakshagrahas* (demon possessors, causing disease) are attendants of Skanda, who is sometimes called *Guha,* a name which may be related to the *Guhyas,* attendants of Kubera" [2]. If we read the term *Graha* of our inscription as *Guhya* it will mean 'a supporter of Kubera's flying palace'. Kubera is known as *Guhyapati* (the lord of the Guhyas) and also as *Yakshapati* (the lord of the Yakshas) [3].

Thus whether we take the word as *Graha* or as *Guhya* it will denote 'the attendant of Kubera'. It is significant to note that this Yaksha is called *Mahārāja* in the inscription. Moreover his drapery and ornamentation are the same which are associated with Kubera, the lord of the Yakshas. This may lead to the presumption that the figure in question is of Kubera himself. But the way in which the inscription is worded cannot warrant us to identify the image as that of Kubera. If the literal translation given above is accepted, the only plausible conclusion that we can draw is that the figure is that of a Yakshagraha or a Guhya-Yaksha called Dharmanitya.

The inscription means to say that this Dharmanitya declares that in his hand he holds *prasāda* of the god. Who is this god or lord and what kind of *prasāda* is referred to? Most probably god Kubera is meant who is undoubtedly the Lord of all the Yakshas. The present figure holds a jug of wine and a fruit in his left and right hands respectively. According to the *Rūpamaṇḍana,* one of Kubera's hands should possess a pomegranate fruit [4]. The present figure most probably holds the same fruit in his right hand [5]. Wine is generally associated with Kubera and in most of his images found at Mathurā and other places we find him carrying a cup of wine. Does the *prasāda,* alluded to in the present inscription, refer to these two things—wine and pomegranate or lemon fruit held by the Yaksha—which are very delicious to Kubera?

The present figure in make up, pose, and drapery very much resembles another Yaksha figure (ht. 12½") probably of Kubera, in the Mathurā Museum (Mus. Reg. No. C. 31, illustrated by Coomaraswamy in his *Yakshas,* part I, pl. 21, no. 3) except that the latter figure holds a long bag or mongoose in his right hand instead of a fruit. The prevalance of the Yaksha cult in and near about Mathurā especially in the Kushāṇa Age is proved by dozens of Yaksha and Kubera images that are exhibited in the local Museum. Maholi (ancient Madhupurī), from where the present image comes, was one of the centres of Yaksha worship.

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2) COOMARASWAMY, *Yakshas,* I, p. 8-9.

3) *Ibid.,* p. 8.

4) T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, *Elements of Hindu Iconography,* II, part ii, pp. 535-537.

5) Another fruit recommended by early Sanskrit writers like Vātsyāyana for sexual efficacy, and which can be associated with Yakshas, is the Bījapūra or Bijaurā lemon.

A CASE OF PARALLEL SYMBOLISM

by

A. A. BAKE
London

> "Javana-pavana-vellal-loka-kallola-mālā pratimita śaśilekhā-cañcalaṃ jīvalokam........."
> "The world of the living, unstable like the crescent reflected in a garland of waves, restless and trembling with the fleeting breeze........."
> (*Antiquities of Chamba State*, I (1911) p. 12).

How well I remember Professor Vogel quoting these lines in one of his lectures when we had only just begun our studies of Sanskrit. More strongly than years of reading could have done these lines gave us realisation of the instability of life and an understanding of the Indian approach to human existence on this earth.

In the years that were to follow I had ample opportunity to notice that this sentiment was not merely a whim of an anonymous poet, but that this notion of instability pervades the way of thinking of the very people of India and that—shorn of the sophistication of the reflected crescent—waves, water, a stream or the sea are universally accepted symbols to describe our condition on this earth. "Bhavasindhu"—the ocean of existence—or synonymous expressions, do not surprise even the poorest peasant when they occur in the songs he hears and sings. Crossing the water to salvation on the other side is a notion so ingrained in the consciousness of the people that in most of the modern North Indian languages "pâr-karna"—to bring to the other bank—and its equivalents mean to save or to succeed.

"Meri kishti karâ deṇ pâr, o Mahiyâ, maiṇ nuṇ jâuṇ na o pâr"- bring my boat across, o boatman, I want to go to the other side--is the opening line of a Panjabi folksong. The boatman answers "stay where you are, traveller, stay on that bank" but the traveller repeats "bring my boat across, O boatman, I want to go to the other side" and he adds "I want to go to the palace of the King and the palace is on the opposite bank, bring my boat across".

To us in the West this imagery is not at all strange. In his "Kreuzstab Kantate" Bach has incorporated the following moving recitative before the final jubilant aria:

> Mein Leben auf der Welt is einer Schiff-fahrt gleich;
> Betrübnis, Angst und Not, sind Wellen welche mich bedecken
> Und auf den Tod mich täglich schrecken......

Und wenn das wütenvolle schäumen sein Ende hat
So tret ich aus dem Schiff in meine Stadt
Die ist das Himmelreich
Wohin ich met den Frommen
Aus vieler Trübsal werde kommen.

The difference is, of course, that the Indian song is a folksong and perhaps more readily comparable with the feeling of the Negro Spiritual: "Deep river. My home is over Jordan. Deep river, Lord, I want to cross over into campground".

Another case in point are the words found in all the modern N. Indian languages, like the Hindi "Târakâr" for liberator, saviour, that go back to the Sanskrit root "tṛ"—to cross over (a river)—, or rather to its causative form "târayati"—to lead across, to rescue, to save.

In this connection one might also mention the Buddhist term "Srotapanna"—he who has entered the stream—, for a man who has started out on the Right Path.

From the oldest times, from the classical language into the popular languages, from official religion into the beliefs of the people, this notion of existence as a sea or river to be crossed has remained alive and real for the people up to our own days.

One of the stories with which the villagers of the Panjab pass their long hours, is that of Sohni and Mahiwâl, as usual a pair of unhappy lovers, divided in life, but finally united in death. In this story the man, Mahiwâl, guards his herd of buffaloes on one bank of the river. Sohni, unhappy in the house of her mother-in-law on the other bank, swims nightly across to be united with her lover. She uses a pair of earthenware pitchers to keep her afloat. One night her jealous sister-in-law wakes up and discovers the secret. The next day she stealthily changes the pitchers for unbaked ones and when Sohni sets out again, on the following night which is dark and stormy, the raw pitchers dissolve in mid-stream and she is drowned. Mahiwâl then joins her in death.

This might, even up to its tragic ending, be just another Hero and Leander, or the Dutch "Two Royal Children" in reverse (in the latter case the old hag who blew out the candles being the counterpart of the sister-in-law), only that in India—which brings it into the picture here—the villagers definitely understand the story in a symbolical sense, Mahiwal being God, Sohni the soul, the cruel in-laws the world which can only be evaded by crossing the river. The tremendous hold these and similar stories have over the villagers lies precisely in this everfelt background of symbolical meaning.

There is a universal love of symbolism and allegory in India which makes the practice of preaching religion in song almost the natural course. So for instance the following song from Bengal, used in the propagation of the singing of Krishna's name as a means to salvation. This custom, called Nâm Kirtan, is a great force in Vaishnavism in Bengal and the very powerful reformer Chaitanya and his favourite disciple Nityânanda (Nitây) who lived and worked during the first half of the 16th century, always held it out as the only means of salvation in this cruel and degenerate era, the Kali Yuga, in which we are doomed to live.

Here is one of the numerous songs in which this matter is explained symbolically:

"The Ferry-man Nitây, who showers mercy
Has given us the boat of Hari-Nâm,
And if you want to cross
Get up into that boat
And get across the ocean of existence, quickly.
Who, who will come into the boat
Of that kind boatman?
He ne'er discriminates between the high and low:
In his boat finds a place
Whoever sings the Name.
He brings them right across
Without a ferry-fee.

(as sung by "Sadhu Babä" in Calcutta)

In the Mohammedan story Sohni found her Mahiwâl on the other bank of the stream. In the sphere of Vaishnavism the gopi finds her Krishna when she gets across to be united with him.

There is a charming little tune from Gujerat or Kathiawar sung as accompaniment of a village women's round-dance called Garba (or perhaps more correctly garbha) of very ancient origin which has a social as well as a very strongly religious function. Worldly as well as religious songs are used to dance the garba to. In the song I mean the singer—a gopi—stands on one bank of the river and sees her Krishna on the other, "manahari, mâlavane"—stealing the heart, wearing a garland. She begs him to take her across and promises gold and silver and jewels round his neck.

From these few instances it is clearly apparent how deeply this symbolism is embedded in the consciousness of the common people and how far back it can be traced.

With us in the West too it might be worthwhile to look for traces of this way of symbolising spiritual experiences, more directly connected with the life of the people than the solitary instance quoted above from Bach's "Kreuzstab Kantate".

I have come across the following old English song with its early 16th or even 15th century explanation which belongs altogether in the same sphere:

"Come o'er the bourn, Bessy,
Come o'er the bourn, Bessy,
My Bessy, come over to me.
And I will thee take
And my fair lady make
Before all I ever see."

The explanation given is:

"Come over the burn, Besse,
My little pretty Besse
Come over the burn to me.
The burn is the world blind
And Besse is mankind
So proper I can none find as she.
She dances and leaps
And Christ stands and clepes:
Come over the burn, Besse, to me."

(from: "*English melodies from the 13th-18th century, with introduction & historical notes* by Herbert JACKSON, London, 1910).

Then there is the following song called "The Bold Fisherman" which was still found alive by Cecil Sharp when he was doing his wonderful work of collecting English folksongs at the beginning of this century:

As I walked out one Maymorning
Down by the river side
There I beheld a bold fisherman
Come rolling down the tide.

Bold fisherman, bold fisherman
How come you fishing here?
I've come for you fair lady gay
All down the river clear.

He tied his boat unto a stand
And to this lady went
For to take hold of her lily-white hand
It was his full intent.

Then he unbraced his morning-gown
And gently laid it down,
When she beheld three chains of gold
Came trinkling three times round.

Down on her bended knees she fell
Crying: pardon, pardon me,
In calling you a fisherman
Come rolling down the sea.

He took her by her lily-white hand
Crying: follow follow me
I'll take you to my father's house
And married we shall be.

(from Cecil J. SHARP's *English Folksongs,* II, page 32).

In a case of such striking parallelism are we to assume mutual influence? Perhaps one is safer in believing that the human mind, wanting to express certain basic longings and perceptions tends to choose similar expressions.

'ARCHAEOLOGY'

by

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When reading or speaking about archaeological subjects, even when discussing questions in which the terminology used should be perfectly clear, one is often inclined to ask: what is the exact meaning of 'archaeology'? The word is evidently used in more than one sense, even by experts, and we do not always know which of these meanings the speaker has got in view and whether he and we are speaking about the same things. In the systematic catalogue of most libraries the titles of books on archaeology are to be found under two heads: Art and History. As a separate subject the librarian has not provided for it. If we consult an outline of modern knowledge we either do not find a word about it or else the chapter on archaeology appears to be dealing with Greek and Roman art. A number of books, many of them written in English, with the word 'archaeology' in various combinations in their titles, describe the antiquities of Asia and other remote countries, the methods and results of excavations, or prehistoric research. "Merkwürdigerweise findet sich bis in die neueste Zeit hinein ein auffallendes Schwanken über Wert und Umfang dieser Benennung", Heinrich Bulle wrote thirty-five years ago and the situation has not improved since then [1]). Therefore it is not superfluous to examine in what meaning the term archaeology is used and in which way these notions are connected [2]).

This vagueness is partly due to the fact that science cannot be divided into separate sub-divisions. Every librarian will have had the same experience as I have had myself when he tries to squeeze it into the system of his catalogues. Science is an organism all parts of which co-operate in ever changing combinations to accomplish various tasks, but in the end according to a vast plan. We cannot cut this organism into pieces unpunished. In order to understand its functions and the mutual connections of the organs we need a physiology of science, not an anatomy. When it is practically impossible to avoid using the dissecting

1) H. BULLE, *Handbuch der Archäologie*, I, 1913, p. 1. F. KOEPP, *Archäologie* (I, p. 5) says that the word archaeology is "wunderlich" and "nur durch den Gebrauch verständlich". But it is used in so many senses!

2) The solution here proposed in certain regards differs from that in my article *Wat is archaeologie?* in *Tijdschrift Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 81 (1941), p. 501-18.

knife, as it is in the case of the catalogue or the encyclopaedia, the result is that where two domains coincide or various branches of science collaborate we have to choose our point of view and to cut through parts which in reality form a whole. Since, moreover, the number of subdivisions is necessarily only small, many of the less well-known sciences are either treated casually, as far as they are subservient to the more privileged ones, or they have been cut to pieces altogether.

This general aversion of science to sharply out-lined definitions, however, does not explain completely the questionable position of archaeology. It is also connected with the peculiar character of this branch of science and its objects.

The first thing about archaeology evident to everybody—whether or not he understands its literal meaning—is that it is connected with antiquity and ancient things. Ἀρχαιολογία and ἀρχαιολογίαι, as the Greek authors from whom we have borrowed it, understood the term according to the etymology—'knowledge of ancient things, of antiquity', otherwise 'of origins, of the roots of the present'—refer to tales from the past, mythological history, ancient history or history in general [3]). In Latin ἀρχαιολογία(ι) is rendered by *antiquitates*, likewise '(the study of) ancient things' and used as 'history', or in a more restricted sense as '(knowledge of) ancient institutions'. *Archaeologia, antiquitates* and their immediate derivatives like 'antiquities' in the sense of ancient history in general were used in later times, *e.g.* in the 17th century, also by European scholars, but since the beginning of the 19th century they were replaced by the German 'Altertumswissenschaft' (Dutch: 'oudheidkunde'). Nowadays this term has lost much of its attraction, since the combination of about every branch of cultural sciences concerned with Antiquity in some way or other, each with its special methods and subjects, is more suitable for a 'Handbuch' like the well-known series founded by Iwan von Müller or for a 'Reallexikon' than as a form of science of its own. The same applies to the 'Privat-, Staats-, Rechts- und Kriegsaltertümer', *etc.*, in other words the *antiquitates* in the sense of social and religious institutions. Only in the case of Hebrew or Biblical archaeology has the term 'archaeology' been used for a collection of data of this kind.

When we use the term 'Antiquity' or its equivalents 'Altertum' and 'Oudheid' these words, too, do not always convey the same meaning. As the first sub-division of a history of the World in which 'the World' meant only Europe and surrounding countries, it could be little more than the history of Greece and Rome. In consequence of modern discoveries, Egypt, Western Asia and other countries which were formerly dealt with only in connection with those classical civilizations or with the Bible, have been included in 'Antiquity' as independent members. In recent books on this subject 'Antiquity' therefore covers a very large territory, although still only part of the remote past of Humanity in general. Beside those of Greece and Rome, there are the history and archaeology of the Near East, of India, Central Asia, Indonesia, *etc.* We must, however, be prepared that even in scientific terminology classical studies, because of their birth-right and the interest they have for our own

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3) BULLE, l.c. p. 1; E. PERNICE in *Handbuch der Archäologie*, edited by W. OTTO, I, 1938, p. 239 f.

culture, are bound to come to the fore. Whilst other branches of antiquarian science have to add some explaining adjective like 'Indian' or 'Mesopotamian' to their names and subjects, frequently the same terms without these additions refer to classical studies par excellence: Antiquity beside Antiquity in general means Classical Antiquity, archaeology beside archaeology in general: classical archaeology.

In popular usage archaeology is still used in its original sense. 'An archaeologist' in the eyes of the general public is somebody interested in the past and in ancient things, whatever they may be. Not without reason indeed, for the individual archaeologist studies the past not only from the purely archaeological point of view in its modern sense, but *e.g.* as a philologist or a historian as well. He is not an incarnation of the abstraction 'archaeology'. In order to establish the true meaning of the word archaeology we therefore cannot be satisfied with judging from the personal interests of the archaeologist among our friends.

As a scientific term archaeology in the modern sense of the word has got a more limited meaning. It is a special way of studying the past, which is connected with another meaning of *antiquitates* and its modern derivatives, *viz.* the study of the material remains of the past (antiquities, monuments, 'Altertümer', 'Denkmäler', 'oudheden').

For the study of the past as far as Man is concerned we have to rely on two categories of documents—oral tradition in the case of a remote past being left out of discussion—*viz.* written documents and material remains. Written documents, at least part of them, have been composed with the aim to convey a message to posterity about the history of their writers, their contemporaries or their predecessors. With the material remains as such this is in principle not so. They may tell us things in many ways but not by actual communication. In the case of written documents we have to listen to their tale before starting interpreting and criticizing. In that of the material remains we have to bring these mute witnesses to light and draw their evidence from them ourselves. They do not tell us anything unless we put our questions to them. The functions of the man who deciphers and translates the texts are quite different from that of the archaeologist who discovers and studies the material remains. The former has first of all to be able to read or to 'listen', the latter to see. Consequently the treatment of both kinds of evidence about the past is essentially different and has been entrusted to different branches of science: philology and archaeology ('Altertumskunde', 'oudheidkunde'). To distinguish this kind of archaeology from others the term 'Denkmälerkunde' [4] ('la science des choses anciennes', 'the science of ancient things') may be used. In Dutch 'oudhedenkunde' might be adopted.

Starting from this general subject archaeology has developed and specialized in many directions. It had ample occasion to do this for there are many categories of material remains: of all periods, of all peoples and countries, and of all kinds. They include artefacts in the sense of things man made, such as his weapons and utensils, clothes and ornaments, idols and temples, houses, graves and settlements, and beside these other traces of his former presence like human and animal bones, seeds and everything else which in any way might be

4) KOEPP, *Archäologie*, I, 1919.

able to throw light on human activity and culture in a remote past. Some of these remains are in a tolerably good condition, others, and by far the most, require the utmost care. Some are works of art, others simple potsherds, refuse-heaps, if not just dark spots on the ground. Some of them are made by our own ancestors, others by those of our antipods. In theory archaeology deals with all material remains from the past, but in practise it specializes on either the antiquities of one or more countries, on special periods like prehistory, on special categories of antiquities and the aspects of culture which they represent, such as products of art, technics, etc., or again it may apply to certain activities of a technical character like excavating.

So beside archaeology as 'Denkmälerkunde' in its widest sense, there are, for instance, Indian, Mexican or Mesopotamian archaeology, prehistoric archaeology, Early Christian archaeology, 'Archäologie der Kunst', field archaeology, historical comparative archaeology, *etc.* There would be no ambiguity if we kept using these terms with their explanatory specifications. Trouble begins however when one of these archaeologies proclaims itself to be archaeology *par exellence* and starts calling itself by this name without any restricting definition.

Some of the widest formulated definitions of archaeology in the sense of 'Denkmälerkunde' may be quoted here: "the process of recording the past as revealed by objects made by man" (S. Casson) [5]; "the science devoted to the study of the entire body of tangible relics pertaining to the origin, the antiquity and the development of man and his culture" (N. C. Nelson) [6]; "aus den erhaltenen Spuren der Vergangenheit Geschichte zu machen" (G. Rodenwaldt) [7]; "l'explication du passé par les monuments figurés ou ouvrés" (S. Reinach), "(qui) tient autant de compte de simples utensils que des oeuvres plastiques" [8]; "the science devoted to the interpretation of the material remains of Antiquity in their mutual relation" (H. Frankfort *l.c.*); "en un mot (l'archéologue) examine tous les documents matériels..., que nous ont laissés les anciens" (W. Déonna) [9]; "Der Spiegel in dem der Archäologe das geschichtliche Leben erfasst, ist die sichtbare Hinterlassenschaft der vergangenen Menschen" (E. Buschor) [10]. In these definitions stress is laid upon the fact that archaeology studies the past, and especially the past of Humanity, occupying itself with the material remains, without making exceptions. Specialization, however, makes itself felt when interpretation is mentioned, which indeed is only part of the work to be done, and when the purely historical side is brought to the fore. I shall have to discuss this point

5) *Progress of Archaeology*, 1934, p. 2; cf. the same in *The Discovery of Man*, 1940, p. 70: the study of the things he made and the way in which he lived". — "Objects made by man" is too narrow a definition of antiquities, as we have seen above See also: H. FRANKFORT, *De archaeologie en de geschiedenis van het Nabije Oosten*, 1933, p. 14.

6) In *General Anthropology*, edited by F. BOAS, 1938, p. 146.

7) *Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen*, 1930, p. 9.

8) L. RÉAU, *Dictionnaire illustré d'art et d'archéologie*, (1930), s.v.

9) *L'archeologie, sa valeur, ses méthodes*, I, 1912, p. 15.

10) In *Handbuch der Archäologie*, edited by W. OTTO, I, 1938, p. 3.

later on. Besides, in connection with the more technical elements in archaeology, such as excavation, reconstruction, *etc.*, in stead of 'science' a term like 'scientific occupation' with the material remains of the past might be preferred. This is specialized in many directions.

The variations in archaeology due to the geographical position of its materials, the antiquities, are considerable. According to the region of the world where they are found, the civilizations to which they belong are different. Consequently Indian archaeology, for instance, studies Indian antiquities in connection with conditions, languages, religions and customs quite different from those in Egypt. Beside being a subdivision of archaeology it therefore is also part of the indological studies. The different character and development of various civilizations, moreover, determines whether caves and stone objects or temples and palaces, private houses or religious buildings will prevail. And last not least the influence of climatic conditions in different regions makes itself felt in the technical measures required as well as in the nature of the antiquities preserved. In Java, where only buildings and objects in stone and metal, practically exclusively of a religious character, have resisted the tropical climate, archaeology is principally concerned with art and religion. In Egypt and other countries where all kinds of objects have been preserved it introduces us to the daily life and all aspects of culture. Archaeology changes in possibilities, methods and subjects according to the place where it is practised, the region and the period it studies. It is in short dependent on what man thought fit to make and Nature thought fit to save. We can speak a long time about archaeology in abstract terms, but only when brought into contact with a concrete case does it obtain shape and colour.

Apart from these local differences archaeology can be divided into a number of functions of tasks [11]). The first work is to recover the antiquities. As far as they have resisted the wear and tear of time, the material remains of the past generally speaking are broken, incomplete, ruinous and subject to decay. They are hidden in the ground, in the forest or in the sea. If we want to study them we have to trace them first, to excavate and preserve them, to restore their original shape by reconstruction either on paper or in reality. From the very beginning archaeology co-operates with other sciences. Excavations often have to be executed by specialized architects, in other instances in close collaboration with geology, palaeontology, biology, *etc.* Groningen has its Biological-Archaeological Institute, directed by Professor van Giffen, who from a biologist became an archaeologist. It is often impossible to distinguish the architect or the geologist from the archaeologist. As is often the case in archaeology two or more faculties are here combined in one person. The establishment of the original shape and appearance of the objects discovered is an important task of the archaeologist. The actual reconstruction has to be done in co-operation with the experts of the musea, with architects and chemists. The archaeologist's work gradually passes into that of the musea or into the care of monuments. Sometimes it has been thought advisable to entrust excavating and other kinds of archaeological research to one service,

11) KOEPP, *Archäologie*, I-IV, distinguishes four phases: 'Wiedergewinnung' (recovery), 'Beschreibung' (description), Interpretation and 'Datierung'.

the care of monuments to another; elsewhere excavation, museumwork and the care of monuments are so closely interrelated that they have been combined in one institution. Anyhow, we see that during the recovery of antiquities archaeology though evidently the leading science cannot always clearly be separated from other sciences involved in these researches, whilst in the case of museumwork and the care of monuments we have an instance of the way in which a specialized function or archaeology develops into a related form or occupation with antiquities, which in the end works independently and can no longer be regarded as archaeology. In other words, from the point of view of archaeology, other sciences and activities are grafted on it.

The chiefly technical aspects of archaeology and especially excavations in the eyes of the general public are so characteristic that archaeology and 'digging up the past' are often taken as synonyms. The term indicated in this case is field archaeology.

The next task of archaeology with regard to antiquities is to describe them and make them accessible to wider circles. This task includes work like inventarisation, drawing and photography—which is partly done during their recovery—, cataloguing and describing them in full detail. To be complete the description must also account for the measures taken for the recovery including the restoration of the antiquities, whilst on the other hand it will be impossible to describe the objects and monuments without anticipating their interpretation [12]). Even when we distinguish with Koepp and others in the course of archaeological research and studies various tasks, we cannot very well treat them as separate actions. There is, therefore, no reason to use a special name like 'archaeography' for the description of antiquities in analogy of ethnography—ethnology, *etc.*, as has been sometimes suggested [13]).

Recovery and description are followed by the study of the antiquities now made accessible, though actually it has started during if not before the excavation. It includes in the first place the interpretation ('Hermeneutik, Exegese') of the object or site in question; its nature and destination have to be established, reliefs and images must be identified. Next we have to determine its date, which in the case of products of art means their assignment to some period, school or individual artist, in short their stylistic treatment. The aid of other branches of science such as philology, history, epigraphy, the history of religions, ethnology, *etc.* is required. When the interpretation is finished archaeology has accomplished its task as far as the objects themselves are concerned. They have been recovered, described and published, interpreted and dated, in other words they have been prepared according to the rules. Many new data have been added to the stock of science. We have got acquainted with objects, sites and monuments, not or insufficiently known before, which were lost and have been found again. We have been able to do this aided by the knowledge we have of the problems around these antiquities in general, about the type of culture they belong to and of our experience in other cases. So far we have satisfied

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12) See *e.g.* the beginning of C. ROBERT, *Archäologische Hermeneutik*, 1919.

13) 'Archaeographie' has been also proposed in stead of archaeology in general, cf. BULLE, l.c. p. 3.

the demand to study the material remains of the past in their mutual relation, but only half-way. The newly acquired materials now must in their turn throw light on the problems with which they are connected: the history of the plough and agriculture, the evolution of some school or art, the material culture of Palaeolithic man, Alexander's campaign in India, *etc.*

Is all this still included in the task of archaeology or does it hand over the further study to other sciences? The preliminary activity of preparing the materials indeed take up a large part of its domain. Bulle's definition of archaeology (*l.c.* p. 12, 75) is: "die methodische Erforschung aller räumlich geformten Denkmäler, soweit es zu ihrer wissenschaftlichen Verwertbarkeit besonderer Vor- und Zubereitungen bedarf." But when we read again the definitions of archaeology quoted above, of Nelson, Frankfort and others, we realize that it does not stop after the preparation of the materials. Bulle indeed proceeds (p. 12 f.): "Wie bei der Philologie aber erwächst selbstverständlich auch in der Archäologie aus der vorbereitenden Tätigkeit z u g l e i c h d i e h ö h e r e B e a r b e i t u n g d e r e i g e n t l i c h e n P r o b l e m e. Nicht nur weil es eine grausame Entsagung wäre, die Blöcke bloss zuzuhauen, aus denen andere das Haus erbauen, sondern weil diese zurichtende Tätigkeit überhaupt nur im Zusammenhang mit den höheren Zwecken wirklich geleistet werden kann" [14]). So *e.g.* the excavations have to be either directed by archaeologists, conversant with the study of the objects excavated and the sphere of culture they belong to, or by people who possess both technical and archaeological abilities [15]). But it is also in many cases impossible or unadvisable to study the sites and remains or in other ways to use archaeological materials without being familiar with the methods of field archaeology. The latter and the scientific study of the antiquities cannot be separated though of course specialization is inevitable for the individual archaeologist. As regards the close connections between description, interpretation and study we have already pointed out that they cannot be separated. There are no clear cut borderlines, but only gradual transitions. At a certain moment the study of the antiquities is taken over from archaeology by sciences of a related character such as the history of Fine Arts, history, *etc.* Not, however, from an archaeology the task of which is finished after the description, but from one which during the study of its materials has specialized in many directions and so gradually passes into different other sciences, which, starting from their own point of view, take the archaeological materials into their field of study. Temples, altars, idols, graves, *etc.*, which have been excavated, described and afterwards studied by archaeology, form the materials from which the history of religions in combination with texts and inscriptions compiles its notions about the religions of antiquity. When studying antiquities in the sphere of technics, art, agriculture, *etc.*, on the other hand, archaeology is partly identical with the sciences which

14) *Cf.* DÉONNA, l.c. p. 2: "Il faut en effet abandonner l'opinion, trop souvent entretenue par la futilité de certaines recherches savantes, que l'archéologie n'a d'autre but qu'elle même, qu'elle se borne à fouiller, à cataloguer, à décrire les restes du passé, sans en extraire aucune considération qui soit utile à tous."

15) *Cf.* FRANKFORT, l.c. p. 30

are interested in these aspects of culture. The characteristic element in this connection is that archaeology as well as the other sciences, as far as they coincide with it, are interested in the objects as visible witnesses of the past of Humanity. They may use data of all kinds to interpret and complete the archaeological material, but the evidence they get from the antiquities themselves is what these can tell us as o b j e c t s relating to aspects of h u m a n history and culture. When other interests are introduced archaeology is not involved. For instance when field archaeology has brought to light manuscripts or inscriptions, which have to be studied not as objects but as written documents, their study is passed over to philology and epigraphy and has nothing to do with archaeological methods, though its results may be used afterwards for finding the date and character of the ruins in which they have been found. When seeds or human bones have been discovered, their determination cannot be considered as part of the task of archaeology proper, which however is bound to profit by the report of the palaeontologist or botanist.

The specialization of archaeology in different directions starts as soon as the antiquities have been prepared for further study. One group of objects belongs to the sphere of agriculture, another to that of Fine Arts, others again to that of religion, social life, technics, *etc.* or to more than one sphere at the same time. Each of these spheres has provided the archaeologist with data for the interpretation or dating of his finds. Now the new archaeological materials have to be used to enlarge our knowledge of these subjects. We have, for instance, been able to interpret the monument of Barabuḍur with the aid of our knowledge of Buddhism, Hindu-Javanese history, Buddhist art in general and especially of the Indian Archipelago, *etc.* And in its turn Barabuḍur has provided us with new data, which have supplemented and changed our notions of the subjects mentioned a great deal. There are many categories of antiquities and just as many sciences are concerned with their study. In stead of Rodenwaldt's "aus den erhaltenen Spuren der Vergangenheit Geschichte zu machen", *i.e.* to make history from the material remains of the past, we ought to say that the task of archaeology and its co-operators is to make history, or history of Fine Arts, or history of technics, of agriculture, of social conditions, of fashion, and of many other things. Some of these aspects come to the fore, *esp.* history and the history of Fine Arts. As I have said before, in the definitions of 'Denkmälerkunde' quoted above the historical element has got a more prominent position than is justified.

This accentuation of history is partly due to a reaction against a one-sided interest in Fine Arts. In his doctor's thesis Frankfort says: "archaeology is that branch of historical science which deals with the material remains of the past", and in one of the 'stellingen', added to this work: "The conception of archaeology as part of the history of Fine Arts is antiquated. Archaeology as the scientific interpretation of the material remains procures, in combination with philology as the interpretation of literary tradition, the data from which not only the cultural, but also the political history of the Near East can be compiled" [16]). In

16) *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East*, II, 1927, p. 1. The 'stellingen' (theses to be defended when taking the doctor's degree) are only to be found in the copies used as doctor's thesis.

my former article on this subject in 'Tijdschrift Bataviaasch Genootschap' 1941 I have myself laid too much stress on this point. I should now prefer to see the study of archaeological materials for the sake of history as o n e of the ways in which archaeology specializes when studying the antiquities. I need not dwell upon the fact, that archaeology plays a highly important part as a source of historical knowledge, and that not exclusively concerning those periods about which there are no written—and deciphered—documents. Historical archaeology is indeed an extremely important science, but it is not the only form of archaeology.

The same phenomenon is seen in the case of Fine Arts, of the "Archäologie der Kunst". Unless we take with Conze and Koepp 'Kunst' in an old and very wide sense of *ars* as "alle in räumliche Form hineingeschaffenen Menschengedanken", "a l l e Gebilde der Menschenhand" [17]), it is evidently concerned with the products of Fine Arts, and in common parlance especially of Greek and Roman art. The founder of this science, Winckelmann, never used the word archaeology in connection with it himself. It was introduced a few years after the publications of his book by some of his fellow-countrymen both with and without the addition 'der Kunst', and since then in Germany and partly in Holland 'Archaeologie' without further definition is often synonymous with the history of ancient art together with its auxiliary sciences [18]). In Holland there is no generally accepted terminology in these matters. Sometimes at the university the history of classical art is called 'archaeology', sometimes again 'classical archaeology', which seems to be more justified beside Indian, Germanic or prehistoric archaeology. In Utrecht beside a reader in 'archaeology', i.e. classical archaeology, there is another in 'archaeology with the exception of classical archaeology'! It is either a very extensive subject or a rather clumsy formulation. A few months ago a 'Society of Dutch Archaeologists' was founded. It does not intend to bring together the various kinds of archaeologists to be found in Holland, as its name seems to suggest, but to promote the study of antique civilization and of national archaeology.

In the above I have rendered 'Archaeologie der Kunst' by 'history of ancient art'. This is, however, not quite accurate, for both ideas are not identical. Just as in the case of History here too archaeology and the history of Fine Arts coincide in a certain degree, since both take an interest in the antiquities as far as they can be considered as works of art. But they come to this common domain each from a different side: archaeology has brought them to

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17) KOEPP, l.c.

18) C. B. STARK, *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst*, I, 1880, p. 47: "Die Archäologie ist jetzt spezieller Name für die Vorträge über antike Kunst". *Cf.* KOEPP, l.c. "die wissenschaftliche Beschäftigung mit den Kunstdenkmälern des Altertums in der Beschränkung auf die Griechen und Römer" and A. W. BIJVANCK in *Winkler Prins' Algemeene Encyclopaedie*, 5th ed., II, 1933, p. 65: "Arch. as the term is used in the more restricted sense in Holland as in Germany is the science which studies the material remains of classical Antiquity, in the first place therefore the products of antique art". SITTL's *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst*, published in 1895 in Iwan VON MÜLLER's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* was replaced in 1913 by BULLE's *Handbuch der Archäologie* and in 1938 by OTTO's homonymous work. Although in these later books the object of archaeology is defined as "alles von Menschenhand geformte", it is quite evident from their contents, as far as these have been published or announced, that the works of art were to be the real subject.

light together with other kinds of antiquities, interpreted and described them and then undertakes to study them according to their nature, which in the case of works of art implies a.o. their stylistic treatment. The history of Fine Arts, on the other hand, is concerned with all kinds of works of art, among others the antiquities belonging to this category, and therefore it has to use the results of archaeology, just as the archaeologist in order to study the products of ancient art has to be acquainted with the methods of the art historian. Exactly as in the case of history, archaeology here again gradually passes into the history of Fine Arts and *vice versa.* When the monuments in question happen to be buildings the archaeologist is joined in his studies in the same way by the historian of ancient architecture, who in that case becomes more or less an archaeologist himself. But neither the historian of art nor his colleague in the domain of architecture can be called archaeologist in the proper sense of the word. They have much in common with the latter, but their interests are not identical in all respects. The historian of architecture studies the ancient monuments more than the archaeologist is able to do with regard to the development of architecture or to the technical methods of building; the historian of art studies the antiquities in his domain with his special methods and experience, which are only partly open to the archaeologist. The latter, when dealing with the arts, in doing this chooses one category out of the manifold material remains, which form his domain, a very important part indeed, but not the only kind of antiquities. When in stead of these he selects a different group or when in stead of studying them as works of art he sees the same objects as evidence for political or cultural history, for the development of technics or agriculture, or from an ethnological point of view, he will have to specialize in other directions, and have to co-operate with these other sciences. Archaeology has received the aid of many sciences and has been and still is rendering services to them itself. In some cases again it gradually passes into these other sciences and cannot easily be separated from them [19]). As a matter of fact, as we have noted before, it is often treated as just an auxiliary science, especially as one of the satellites of history. The truth is that every branch of science in its turn can be taken as an auxiliary to one or more of the others, since progress is only possible in mutual co-operation.

The specific task of archaeology in this scientific teamwork, in other words in the organism of science, is to deal with the material remains of the past. This task is a many-sided one: to discover those remains when they are lost, to bring them to light when they are hidden, to restore them when they are mutilated, to describe, interpret and study them. After having in this way made them accessible for the study of the past in its various aspects, archaeology undertakes to study them together with other sciences which each from a special point of view approach the past, either to study it for its own sake or to borrow materials from it for their own purposes. The material remains of the past belong to different spheres: according to their nature to religion, fine arts, agriculture or some other human activity,

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19) See *e.g. re* ethnology KAJ BIRKET-SMITH, *Geschichte der Kultur*, 1946, p. 23: "Fast unmerklich geht sie (die Ethnologie) in die Archäologie über, die ja tatsächlich demselben Ziel zustrebt, nur mit andern Methoden". Again not into archaeology in general, but into one of its specialized forms.

according to their geographical position to different peoples and civilizations, according to their age to different periods. While dealing with them and studying them each in connection with its own sphere, archaeology has to co-operate with sciences of all description and to get conversant with their methods and results. In doing this archaeology has developed into a really protean science, taking different shapes and specializing in many directions. This explains why there are so many different formulations of its task and subjects.

As a result of its function of recovering and preparing the material remains of the past, archaeology has to play its part when some branch of science has to rely on materials of this kind. This happens especially in the case of sciences concerned with the past, which is its particular domain. In Western countries the real territory of archaeology is prehistory and Antiquity, in other parts of the world its limits are different. But since archaeology has developed special methods of research it is also called upon in all those cases where results can be expected of the application of these methods, *e.g.* in order to establish the history of Medieval buildings, or even when 'recent' problems are concerned, such as the battle of Waterloo.

By procuring and studying the material remains archaeology contributes to the study of the human past, in general as well as in different regions and periods. Archaeology, indeed, is 'the science of Antiquity' in that it sees human culture of the past behind the objects. "However much he may appear to be preoccupied with things, often in themselves unattractive, (the archaeologist) is really interested all the time in people" 20). If not in individuals, in any case in Man, in his development, his thought, art and labour. And maybe not "all the time", for, to do justice to the things we find and study, we often are interested in them for their own sake quite as well.

Archaeology means discovery, of the remains of the past, of their story and consequently of the past itself. It has extended our knowledge of humanity by the 'conquest' of many ancient civilizations and peoples and by penetrating into the depths of prehistory. In order to accomplish this it has used methods which in every respect must be regarded as 'modern'. It is a pity that the archaeologist forced to speak in terms like antique, ancient and old, creates a sphere of old age and obsoleteness around his own person as well as around his subject. In reality in stead of "ancient times" he is revealing "the Dawn of Civilization" and often he is—or ought to be—enjoying the early morning of Man's history, most properly symbolized by an awakening youth like Rodin's "The Age of Bronze".

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20) G. CLARK, *Archaeology and Society*, 1939, p. 1.

SOME REMARKABLE BUDDHIST BRONZES IN BARODA

by

B. BHATTACHARYYA
Baroda

This article on Buddhist Bronzes is presented to Professor J. Ph. Vogel as a mark of admiration, appreciation and devotion for the manifold and life-long services rendered by the learned and veteran scholar to the cause of Indian Archaeology in all its various branches and phases. But for Professor Vogel, Indian Archaeology would not have occupied the exalted position as it is doing to-day in the field of World Archaeology. Dr. Vogel is entitled to the highest respect from all Indian scholars in all fields of research.

The present article, as its title indicates, deals with some remarkable specimens of Buddhist Bronzes in Baroda. Although Nepalese in origin, they are to be found in the spacious buildings of the Baroda Museum to-day, and are the property of the Government of Baroda. These specimens are chosen either because they are artistic or because of their cultural importance.

I

The first among them is an image of the sixteen armed Cundā. The name of the deity is variously spelt as Cuṇḍā, Cundrā, Candrā and Cuṇḍrā. She is also called Cundavajrī. But the spelling of Cundā adopted by Prof. A. Foucher appears to be correct since her Mantra as given in the Sādhanamālā (pp. 271, 272) "ओं चले चुले चुन्दे स्वाहा" contains the word Cundā in the vocative as 'Cunde'. Under the circumstances the correct spelling and the name of the deity as Cundā may be taken as certain.

From the Sādhanas it is not possible to ascertain the character of the deity or her origin. But from a reference in the Niṣpannayogāvalī Tantra written by the celebrated author Abhayākara Gupta, it appears probable that the deity Cundā is the embodiment of the Buddhist Dhāraṇī work called the Cundādhāriṇī to which a reference is given by

Sāntideva. The Niṣpannayogāvalī acknowledges altogether twelve Dhāriṇī deities and gives their descriptions. These Dhāriṇīs look alike when represented and they are usually two-armed, holding the Viśvavajra or the double thunderbolt in the right hand, and their special symbols in the left.

The names of the twelve Dhāriṇīs as given in the Niṣpannayogāvalī are these:—(1) Sumati (2) Ratnolkā (3) Uṣṇīṣavijayā (4) Mārī (5) Parṇaśabarī (6) Jāṅgulī (7) Anantamukhī (8) Cundā (9) Prajñāvardhaṇī (10) Sarvakarmāvaraṇaviśodhanī (11) Akṣayajñānakaraṇḍā (12) Sarvabuddhadharmakośavatī.

The Dhāriṇīs are a peculiar kind of Buddhist literature which is supposed to evolve mystic power if repeated continually for a long time. They are short works mostly composed of meaningless syllables, sometimes revealing traces of a language now defunct. The deification of books is not unknown in Buddhism. The best example of this is the deity Prajñāpāramitā who is the personification of the great Mahāyāna scripture the Prajñāpāramitā which is believed to have been restored by Nāgārjuna from the nether world.

Amongst the Dhāriṇī deities, Uṣṇīṣavijayā, Jāṅgulī, Parṇaśabarī and Cundā are popular and there is a number of Sādhanas and representations of these deities in art. But they represent nothing more than the respective Vidyās or Mantras of which they are the embodiments.

Cundā thus is the embodiment of the Cundā Dhāriṇī or the Cundā Mantra. The Buddhists believe that when the Dhāriṇī is repeated in deep meditation for a long time with concentration and faith, the Mantra vibrations grossen themselves in the concrete form of a deity which the worshipper visualises, and thus obtains Siddhi or success. When once realized the deity never leaves him, and gives him everything that he desires. The form of the deity visualized becomes slightly different according to the length of the Mantra or any modification in the syllables. The worshipper after obtaining Siddhi records the correct form of the deity in the Dhyānas and Sādhanas for the benefit of his disciples, and these constitute our only authentic material for the study of Buddhist iconography. It is from these descriptions that the sculptors, artists and painters used to prepare images for the purpose of installing them in temples or for household worship or for decoration. As in the pre-Muhammadan days Buddhism was widerspread, Buddhist images of the same deity are found in different parts of India, Tibet, China, Japan, Mongolia, Java and other places.

With regard to the antiquity of Cundā in the Buddhist Pantheon, it may be said that the very first mention of her name as Candrā whom I consider to be the same as Cundā, appears in the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, the composition of which is usually placed cir. 200 A.D. As Cundavajrī, Cundā also finds mention in one of the earliest Tāntric works, the Guhyasamāja which was written most probably in the time of Asaṅga cir. 300 A.D. Cundā is also mentioned in the Śikṣāsamuccaya of Śāntideva in the 8th century. Cundā images are found in illuminated Prajñāpāramitā MSS of the 11th century and several Sādhanas are dedicated to her in the Sādhanamālā, the earliest MS of which bears a date which is equivalent to A.D. 1165. Earlier, she is mentioned in the Niṣpannayogāvalī of Abhayākara Gupta.

Regarding the form of the deity it may be remarked that our only material comes from

the Sādhanas and Dhyānas as also from sculptures and images. The description found in the Dhyānas is represented in images in the different schools, and thus the Dhyānas and images mutually enlighten each other.

So far we know only three Sādhanas of Cundā and they are all to be found in the Sādhanamālā published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series (Sādhanas Nos. 129, 130, 131). There is another description in the same book where Cundā is described as a minor deity in the Maṇḍala of Aṣṭabhuja Kurukullā (Buddhist Iconography p. 58). Three more descriptions have been found in the Niṣpannayogāvalī of Abhayākara Gupta.

The three Dhyānas in the Sādhanamālā describe the principal deity Cundā in one form only. She is four-armed and one-faced, of white complexion and holds the bowl in one pair of hands arranged in the Samādhi Mudrā. The second right shows the Varada Mudrā while the left displays a book on the lotus. The book, obviously represents the Cundā Dhāriṇī (Sādhanamālā Vol. I. p. 272).

Only one image of Cundā of this description has been discovered until now, and this is now in America in the collection of Mr. W. B. Whitney, a solicitor of New York. The owner very kindly supplied the present writer with a photograph which is reproduced here (plate III).

The Sādhanamālā also makes Cundā a companion deity of Aṣṭabhuja Kurukullā in Sādhana No. 174 p. 352. In the Iśāna corner of the Kurukullā Maṇḍala on a lotus petal sits Cundā while the other petals are occupied by Prasannatārā in the East, Niṣpannatārā in the South, Jayatārā in the West, Karṇatārā in the North, Aparājitā in the Agni corner, Pradīpatārā in the Nirṛta corner, and Gauritārā in the Vāyu corner. All the deities including Cundā look alike and are red in colour and on their crowns they bear the figures of the five Dhyāni Buddhas. They sit in the Vajraparyaṅka attitude and with the two right hands show the Varada mudrā and arrow drawn fully to the ear, and in the two left hands carry the utpala (night lotus) and the bow. (op. cit. p. 372).

In the Niṣpannayogāvalī [1]) of Abhayākara Gupta there are altogether three descriptions. In the Kālacakramaṇḍala, Cundā is described as white in colour, and as four-armed. With the two right hands she holds the mudgara (club) and the kunta (knife) and with the two left the lotus and the sceptre She is the consort of Ṭakkirāja, one of the guardians of the gates, similar to Ratnasambhava in appearance, with whom she remains in close embrace. The passage is quoted below:—

टक्किराज्ञो रत्नेशवत् अनेनालिंगिता चुन्दा शुबला सव्याभ्यां
मुद्गरकुन्तौ वामाभ्यां पद्मदंडौ बिभ्राणा

(op. cit. fol. 120 AB).

1) This important work on Buddhist rituals is passing through the press and will be out in a short time. The Sanskrit quotations here given are from the unpublished text.

SOME REMARKABLE BUDDHIST BRONZES

FOUR-ARMED CUNDA, FROM THE COLLECTION
Mr. W. B. WHITNEY, NEW YORK

Cundā is once again mentioned in the Dharmadhātumaṇḍala as white in colour and as carrying a rosary to which a Kamaṇḍalu is suspended. The passage is:—

चुन्दा शुक्ला अक्षसूत्रावलम्बितकमंडलुधरा

(op. cit. fol. 76 B).

A third form of the deity is given in the Niṣpannayogāvalī while describing the Mañjuvajramaṇḍala. It is an elaborate description of Cundā who is endowed with as many as twenty-six arms. It is not necessary to quote the long dhyāna here.

It is well known that the Buddhist deities have a family (kula) which is presided over by one of the Dhyāni Buddhas as the lord of the family (kuleśa). Cundā accordingly, must belong to a family and it is rather difficult to fix it. In one of the Sādhanas, Cundā is said to be emanated from the sixth Dhyāni Buddha Vajrasattva. As her colour is white, the colour of Vairocana, she is to be regarded as belonging to the family of the Dhyāni Buddha Vairocana. Being white Cundā is described as belonging to the Kula of Vairocana in the Niṣpannayogāvalī. She is also said to bear the miniature figure of Mañjughoṣa on her crown, and this Mañjughoṣa is identified in the Niṣpannayogāvalī sometimes with Vairocana and sometimes with Vajrasattva. The apparent contradiction that she belongs to the family of Vajrasattva and Vairocana at the same time is thus removed. Cundā therefore belongs to the kula of Vairocana. The twelve Dhāriṇī goddesses collectively belong to the family of Amoghasiddhi as stated in the Niṣpannayogāvalī.

The Baroda Museum image (plate a) is a small, very artistic piece made of the usual octo-alloy of the Nepalese School, thinly covered in the front part with a golden leaf or polish which has faded out at places. It is less than 4 inches high and about 3 inches broad. On a pedestal there is a prostrate figure of a living man lying on his back. In the Paryaṅkāsana the deity sits on the prostrate figure. She is richly dressed and is decked in ornaments like the necklace, chain, tiara, ear-rings, bracelets, armlets, anklets and a girdle. She is 16-armed. The two principal hands are arranged in the form of a mudrā, similar to the Dharmacakra, and is called in the Sādhana the Mūlamudrā of Cundā. The remaining seven right hands show downwards from the top 1. sword, 2. ḍamaru, (kettle drum), 3. knife, 4. (broken), 5. hammer, 6. garland of jewels, and 7. Abhayamudrā. The remaining seven left hands show from the top in a downward direction. 1. discus, 2. bell, 3. noose, 4. dagger, 5. goad, 6. arrow and 7. Varadamudrā. The deity is one-faced.

The problem now is how to identify this piece as Cundā? In iconographic studies besides the Dhyānas in the Sādhanamālā and the Niṣpannayogāvalī, the labelled miniature paintings found in the illuminated Prajñāpāramitā MSS are our valuable guides in identifying Buddhist deities. My most revered preceptor Professor A. Foucher in his "Etude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de L'Inde" has given an account of two Cundā images, one from the Hindu monastery at Bodhgayā in stone and another from the MS ADD 1643 of Prajñāpāramitā in the Cambridge University Library. The stone image is much mutilated,

The dress of the deity is gorgeous and rich, and consists of an upper and a lower garment. The dress is roomy and ample which is evident from the enormous folds and pleats appearing on the seat all over, and over shoulders and below the armpits. The lower garment is tied round the waist by means of an artistic belt from which radiates a number of tassels decorated with drops, circles and pendants. The upper garment covers only the shoulders and the upper arms, but the neck, chest and the part of the body up to the navel are all bare. Amongst the ornaments we notice the anklets of beads with a crest like ornamentation above. The wristles or bangles are almost of the same appearance with beads and a crest. The armlets are also beaded and surmounted by an artistic crest. The garland converges against the chest and ends in a drop or a circular design, from which again two streams of a beaded chain pass under the armpit and over the back and join with the original chain above, hidden under the upper garment. The deity wears also a necklace which consists of two rows of beaded material and is ornamented with pendants set with green jewels. The jewels were originally six in number, but now only four are left. The ear ornament consists of a circular drop with lotus design set with a green jewel, and a pendant shaped like a branch. Two green stones are still to be found at the centre of the lotus design. Above the head is a magnificent crown with five crests. The central one is fashioned like a moon with a lotus in the middle set with a jewel at the centre, now lost. Adjacent to the central crest, there are two others with the vajra design, and the remaining two at the end show the ghaṇṭā or a bell design. The hair is made up in the shape of a jaṭā crown which is shown as rising above the head terminating in a triśūla or trident. The hair is painted blue in the front and back, and the flowing hairlocks decorate his shoulders and they appear behind the ear ornaments.

The two hands of the deity are crossed against the chest, left over the right. The mudrā shows the first and the fourth finger in an upright position, tips of the thumb and the first poined, and the third bent like the first; but not touching the tip of he thumb. Through the ring formed by the thumb and the index fingers, passes the stalk of a lotus which is shown above the shoulders on each side. The stalk bears instead of the usual flowers, the vajra in the right and the ghaṇṭā or the bell in the left. The vajra design is also seen in thin lines on the fold of the garments in several places. Most of the pendant designs really represent the ghaṇṭā or the bell.

Obviously, this piece represents the highest god of the Buddhist Pantheon, the Ādi Buddha Vajradhara from whom everything else took its origin. He is represented here singly with all royal ornaments and signs, and shows against his chest the well known Vajrahuṁkāra mudrā. This Vajradhara is to be distinguished from Vajrasattva who also holds in his hand the vajra and the ghaṇṭā in the same way as Vajradhara, but in the two cases the position of the two symbols differs. While Vajradhara shows the Vajrahuṁkāra mudrā, Vajrasattva shows no mudrā at all. This latter merely shows the right hand holding a vajra against his chest, while the left hand carrying the ghaṇṭā or the bell rests on his left thigh. Vajradhara is sometimes embraced by his consort Prajñāpāramitā, while the Sakti of Vajrasattva is Vajradhātvīśvarī. The appearance of the Saktis is however the same as their lords.

but there is enough still to show that it is sixteen-armed [2]). The miniature of Cundā in the Cambridge MS is also 16-armed, and it has besides a label in old Newari characters which reads as:

Paṭṭikere Cundāvabhavane Cundā.

"Cundā in the excellent Cundā temple of Paṭṭikera".

This inscription leaves no room for doubting the identification of the 16-armed image as that of Cunda. In this figure also the principal pair of hands are arranged against the chest in what is called in the Sādhana as the Mūlamudrā. Professor A. Foucher has given a description of the miniature of Cundā in the Paṭṭikera temple in his Iconographie bouddhique, part I, p. 199. According to him the two principal hands exhibit the mudrā of teaching. The remaining seven right hands show the 1. Varadamudrā, 2. thunderbolt, 3. disc, 4. club, 5. sword, 6. arrow and the 7. rosary. In the left the 1. vessel, 2. axe, 3. trident, 4. bow, 5. dagger, 6. (indistinct) and 7. sceptre. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, Curator, Dacca Museum has, however, given a slightly different description of the same miniature.

Thus it is apparent that there was an image of Cundā in the temple at Paṭṭikera which is identified by Dr. Bhattasali with the remains on the Lalmai hills in Tippera. The miniature in the Prajñāpāramitā obviously depicts this pre-muhammadan image, and thus becomes useful in identifying the Baroda Museum image of the sixteen-armed deity of Cundā.

The special feature of this image is its seat which is the prostrate figure of a man. This kind of seat is absent in all images of Cundā so far discovered either in metal or in stone or in miniature. But this is an important feature of Cundā images which is not against the directions of the Sādhana. Cundā is said to be seated on a Sattvaparyaṅka or the seat spread on a Sattva which usually means animal or a man. This particular bronze gives the indication that Sattvaparyaṅka is a seat placed over a man lying on his back.

II

The second image is that of Vajradhara, the highest deity of the Buddhist Pantheon.

This bronze piece (plate b) represents a deity as sitting on a double conventional lotus. The material is slightly lighter and brighter in colour than copper, and the part of the body above the neck is painted in golden colour. Its height is 9⁴/₅" and breadth 7". The pedestal is dented in the middel giving the appearance of a seat superimposed on the pedestal. The upper and lower parts of the seat are marked with a series of nine lotuses. On the pedestal is spread an oval seat beaded at the terminal. On this seat sits a deity with legs crossed and with the soles of feet turning upwards and resting on the lap. The deity is one-faced and two-armed, and pleasant in appearance.

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2) One more stone image of Cundā is illustrated in the History of Bengal, Vol. I, pl. xxvi, 64. Here Cundā is 18-armed. All other so called Cundā images do not belong to her really.

III

The third is a bronze of Khadiravaṇī Tārā.

This artistic piece (plate c) measures 8 inches from the top to the bottom. The breadth at its broadest point is 5 inches. The pedestal is semi-circular and its front and sides are marked with lotus petals numbering ten. On this lotus is spread a seat which is dented in the front and on the sides.

On this seat is the figure of a female deity in a sitting posture with one leg hanging down and resting on a small lotus flower. This lotus flower is embellished with a stalk and leaves, and it sprouts from one of the petals of the lotus seat. The peculiar attitude in which the deity sits is called the Lalitāsana in which one of the legs rests on the pedestal (here it is the left one) and the other hangs down and rests on a lotus (here it is the right).

The deity is one-faced and two-armed. The face is calm and peaceful. Apparently, the deity belongs to the benign group. The right hand with the palm open outwardly rests on the right knee and exhibits what is called the Varada or the gift bestowing mudrā (mystic signal). With the thumb she holds the stalk of a lotus which is seen over the right shoulder with flower, petals and leaves.

The right hand artistically rests on the left breast with the three fingers, first, second and fourth in an upright position, while the thumb and the third finger hold the stalk of a lotus which is shown above the left shoulder as counterbalancing the one in the right.

The lotus, it may be noted, is not of the same variety as the one below the right leg, nor the pedestal. These are the expanded type of the lotus which is known as the day lotus, while those that are over her shoulders are of the contracted variety, and are called the night lotus. The night lotus is a special symbol which is generally carried by female divinities, as against the day lotus or the expanded lotus carried by male deities.

The deity wears an under-garment the like of which is worn in upper India and the hills. The garment almost reaches the knees, and appears to be bordered at the terminal and in the middle. The garment is not tight fitting, but sufficiently roomy as the folds below the right and left legs indicate. The under-garment is tied round the waist by means of a mekhalā or a belt. She wears also an upper garment which in several folds passes under the right armpit over the left shoulder covering the left breast.

The deity is decked in many ornaments. First we notice the dented nūpura on the two legs to which an artistic medallion is attached in the middle. The girdle or the mekhalā round the waist serves also as an ornament and has a circular design in the middle covering the navel. She wears bracelets and armlets of which the lower circle is plain while the upper is dented and ornamented. The armlets, moreover, bear the ornamented crest in the middle. Besides, there is a long chain round her shoulders, reaching up to the girdle, with artistic pendants attached to it. Then there is a necklace with gaudy jewellery falling on the breast. She has ear ornaments which are circular at the top and somewhat tapering in the lower part and are set with jewels. Over her head appears the usual jewelled crown with five peaks all set with jewels. The hair is made up in the form of a jaṭāmukuṭa (crown of

III

The third is a bronze of Khadiravaṇī Tārā.

This artistic piece (plate c) measures 8 inches from the top to the bottom. The breadth at its broadest point is 5 inches. The pedestal is semi-circular and its front and sides are marked with lotus petals numbering ten. On this lotus is spread a seat which is dented in the front and on the sides.

On this seat is the figure of a female deity in a sitting posture with one leg hanging down and resting on a small lotus flower. This lotus flower is embellished with a stalk and leaves, and it sprouts from one of the petals of the lotus seat. The peculiar attitude in which the deity sits is called the Lalitāsana in which one of the legs rests on the pedestal (here it is the left one) and the other hangs down and rests on a lotus (here it is the right).

The deity is one-faced and two-armed. The face is calm and peaceful. Apparently, the deity belongs to the benign group. The right hand with the palm open outwardly rests on the right knee and exhibits what is called the Varada or the gift bestowing mudrā (mystic signal). With the thumb she holds the stalk of a lotus which is seen over the right shoulder with flower, petals and leaves.

The right hand artistically rests on the left breast with the three fingers, first, second and fourth in an upright position, while the thumb and the third finger hold the stalk of a lotus which is shown above the left shoulder as counterbalancing the one in the right.

The lotus, it may be noted, is not of the same variety as the one below the right leg, nor the pedestal. These are the expanded type of the lotus which is known as the day lotus, while those that are over her shoulders are of the contracted variety, and are called the night lotus. The night lotus is a special symbol which is generally carried by female divinities, as against the day lotus or the expanded lotus carried by male deities.

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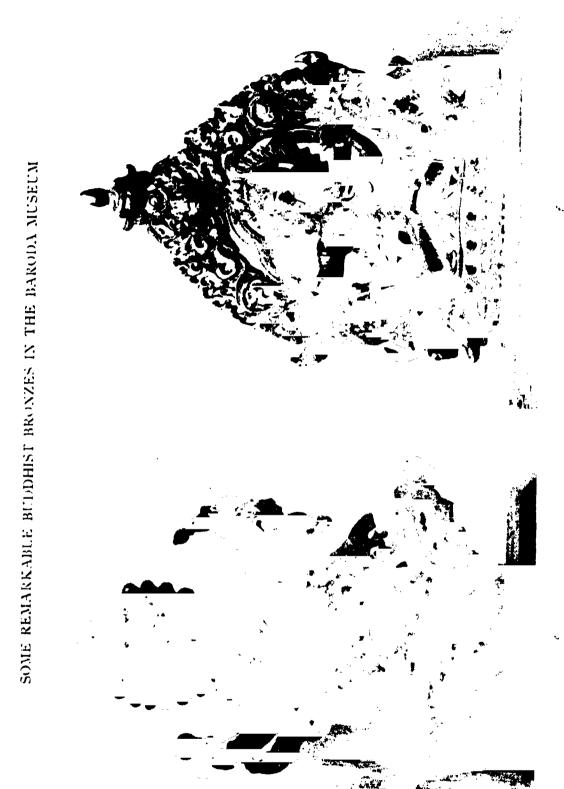
SOME REMARKABLE BUDDHIST BRONZES IN THE BARODA MUSEUM

a. SIXTEEN-ARMED CUNDA *b*. VAJRADHARA *c*. KHADIRAVAṆI TĀRA *d*. VAJRAVARAHI

PLATE V

SOME REMARKABLE BUDDHIST BRONZES IN THE BARODA MUSEUM

e. VIGHNĀNTAKA TRAMPLING ON GAṆEŚA

f. MAÑJUŚRĪ WITH GAṆEŚA AND VIṢṆU

chignon) over the crown of the head, and against this appears the tiny figure of a Dhyāni Buddha showing the Dhyāna mudrā or the signal of meditation.

In this figure, the face, the crown, the ear ornament, and the diminutive figure with its crown are painted in golden colour. The hair below the crown, the hairlocks on the shoulders, and the jaṭā crown are all painted in blue. The colour of the rest is that of the metal which is akin to unpolished copper.

The image under reference should be identified with Tārā, because she has all the characteristics as required by the Sādhana of Khadiravanī Tārā, although here we have Amitābha as the parental Dhyāni Buddha instead of the usual Amoghasiddhi. The image thus belongs to the Amitābha family, and the Amitābha School.

The germ syllable of the deity is TĀṀ, and the mantra for the purpose of repetition is the usual Oṃ Tāre Tuttāre Ture in eight syllables. This mantra is one of the most popular in Nepal and Tibet and is said to confer great merit on the worshipper. This mantra is good for writers, speakers, dialecticians, and for all the six cruel rites of the Tantra. There is also a larger version of the mantra which is required to be repeated with the help of a rosary. The mantra is given below:—

ओं आर्यावलोकितेश्वराय बोधिसत्त्वाय महासत्त्वाय महाकारुणिकाय
तद्यथा, ओं तारे तुत्तारे तुरे सर्वदुष्टप्रदुष्टानां मम कृते जम्भय स्तम्भय
मोहय बन्धय हुं हुं हुं फट् फट् फट् सर्वदुष्टस्तम्भनि तारे स्वाहा।

IV

The fourth image in bronze is that of Vajravārāhī.

This piece (plate d) with the pedestal, figure of the deity and the oval aureole is 8½″ in height and a little less than 6″ in breadth. It represents the dancing figure of a deity violent in appearance. The greatest peculiarity of the figure is that the head of a boar is grafted on her head behind the crown in the left side. The whole piece is made of an alloy in which copper is the principal metal. Its colour is dull. The pedestal is oblong 4½″ in length and 2½″ in breadth. Altogether 19 lotus flowers are engraved on the fringe of the pedestal, nine in front and five each on the two sides. Over this lotus pedestal is spread an oblong seat 3⁴/₈″ in length and 2″ in breadth. On the seat the prostrate figure of a man is seen who is lying full length on the ground with face downwards. The left leg of the deity stands on the back of this figure, whose head and face are completely covered by hair.

The figure of the deity from the foot to the crown is 6¼″ in length. She stands in a dancing attitude with the left leg slightly bent and resting on the prostrate figure of a corpse, while the right is fully bent with the sole of the foot directed towards the left thigh. She is one-faced and two-armed, and has in addition, a sow-like protuberance on her head. The face is fierce, with three blood-shot eyes, contorted expression, and bare fangs. The right hand is raised in a menacing manner, and wields the deadly weapon called the kartri or the

knife. The kartri is semi-circular in shape with the handle surmounted by a vajra. The left carries a bowl full of human flesh and blood against the breast. The deity is completely nude although adorned with the most gorgeous ornaments. The mekhalā or the belt adorns her waist and from this belt radiate a number of beaded tassels, some of them falling as far below as the ankles. She wears anklets and bracelets made up of beaded material. The armlets are plain below and beaded at the top. She wears a huge garland composed of several heads, reaching up to the knees. She wears also a chain with a circular breast plate against the breast with four tassels ending in a pendant. Two other chains radiate from the breast plate and passing below the breast and back join with the lines hanging from the shoulder. The whole thing is composed of beads. In addition to these she has a necklace similarly beaded, with three drops and a pendant. The ornament is composed of a circular piece set with a central jewel, green in colour and a small pendant. The crown on her head has five crests, each set with a human skull, and arranged in the shape of a flame of fire. Above and below the five skulls appear ten green jewels of which only four now remain. Behind the left corner of the crown pops out the sow head to which a reference has already been made.

The semi-circular aureole behind the fugure is in the shape of a flame of fire; on the inner side the aureole is inscribed with curling flames, and smoke arising out of numerous fires. The aureole is painted red on the outer side.

The whole piece has the colour of copper, but the face, crown, and the sow-protuberance are all painted in golden colour except the hair which is painted blue both in front and behind, falling up to the waist. This hair is dishevelled without any arrangement.

The image obviously represents the fierce deity Vajravārāhī to whose worship in different forms a separate Tantra called the Vajravārāhīkalpa is dedicated. The sow-like protuberance over the left side of the head is a sure pointer to Vajravārāhī, who is given the distinguished epithet of Vajraghoṇā "having an adamantine protuberance" in the Tantras. Vajravārāhī is usually represented with a khatvāṅga or a magic stick. In Nepalese bronzes it is a separate appendage and often it is lost, as it moves from one curio vendor to another. It is a lucky coincidence that the sow-face is not detached from the image. If it had been so detached, it would have been difficult, nay impossible, to distinguish her from Nairātmā. Vajravārāhī is the queen of the Tāntric deity Heruka with whom she is often portrayed as locked in close embrace.

According to the Tantras Vajravārāhī when represented wears no garments and bears ornaments made out of human skulls and bones. The kartri symolizes her power to destroy all varieties of ignorance, while the kapāla represents the will to enlightenment. The human flesh and blood symbolize the oneness of duality and non-duality.

The germ syllable is said to be VAṀ or HRĪḤ and the mantra for repetition is

ओं वज्रवैरोचनीये ह्रूं ह्रूं फट् स्वाहा ।

The mantra of Vajravārāhī is said to be extremely potent and dynamic by nature. By

repeating her mantra seven lakhs times, the worshipper can be an expert in all arts and sciences. He becomes invested with a fine memory, heroism, versatility; he can be a good debator and is never defeated in assemblies of learned men..He is never troubled with fever, diseases, or poisons, spirits or goblins. When Siddhi is obtained, a piece of chalk on which this mantra is uttered may be placed on the hand of an illiterate; he will then become learned in sciences and in poetry.

Longer mantras of Vajravārāhī are in existence, and one of them is said to grant success merely by reading. At the time of the Solar or Lunar eclipse if this longer version of the mantra is repeated twenty-one times, without seeing the eclipse, he is at once able to attain perfection, and all supernormal powers.

V

The fifth image in bronze belongs to Vighnāntaka.

This piece (plate e) depicts a standing figure in the Ālīḍha position with the right leg bent and left stretched, on the prostrate figure of Gaṇeśa lying helplessly on his left side. The principal god here is one-faced and six-armed.

The whole scene is represented in bronze of the traditional octo-alloy, and although only 3½ inches in height, it presents remarkable workmanship and mastery of details. The piece appears to be one of the finest specimens of the Nepalese art.

The principal deity appears short and fat with a pot belly, and heavy legs. His disposition is angry and as such he has three round blood-shot eyes, bent eye-brows, bare fangs and facial grimace. His form is rendered terrible by the garland of severed heads, ornaments of snakes, the crown decorated with skulls and the hair rising on the head in the shape of a flame of fire. Amongst the ornaments may be noticed the gorgeous crown surmounted by a jewelled crest, the earrings of snakes, the jewelled necklace, the garland of snakes in the middle and the garland of severed heads hanging up to the knee, jewelled armlets, bracelets of snakes, bejewelled anklets and ornaments of snakes on the lower legs. Besides these he wears a magnificent and bejewelled mekhalā or the belt from which radiate ornamented tassels falling on the thighs.

In the two principal hands he carries the katri in the right and the kapāla in the left. The right upper hand shows the ḍamaru (kettle drum) and the right lower the aṅkuśa or the goad. The left upper hand holds the triśūla while the left lower shows the Tarjanī with the noose. The two uppermost hands in addition hold the end parts of a skin, probably of an elephant, which hangs behind as a shield for the back.

The prostrate figure of Gaṇeśa wears princely ornaments, shows the Abhaya in the right and the sweet balls in the left where the trunk is placed The second right which is empty is near the right knee, and the second left is hidden under the ornaments of the pricipal god.

Gaṇeśa wears a bejewelled crown, necklace, bracelet, armlet and anklets. His under-garment is held in position by the mekhalā. He places his right leg upon the left, and a yogapaṭṭa keeps the two together. An upper-garment adorns his body.

The presence of Gaṇeśa makes the identification of the bronze certain. It represents Vighnāntaka "destroyer of Vighna or Gaṇeśa". The story is told in Nepal that when certain devotee from Oḍiyāna was performing certain Tāntric rites on the banks of the Baghmati river, the Hindu god Gaṇeśa began pestering him in order that he may not obtain success. Being exasperated the Pandit invoked Vighnāntaka who instantly appeared in a violent form and gave a hot chase to Gaṇeśa and ultimately after defeating him stood on his prostrate body.

Vighnāntaka first appears as the embodiment of the mantra 'Vighnāntakṛt' or its grossened form, in the Guhyasamāja Tantra which gives a full account of the maṇḍala or the magic circle of the five Dhyāni Buddhas. Here as the guardian of the Northern gate of the maṇḍala, Vighnāntaka is placed. His other colleagues are Yamāntaka in the East, Prajñāntaka in the South, and Padmāntaka in the West. Their chief business is to take multifarious forms and constantly destroy in the three worlds all varieties of troubles and obstacles for the Buddhist worshippers.

Vighnāntaka is conceived in various forms. He is sometimes one-faced, and at others three-faced. He is sometimes two-armed and sometimes four-, six- and eight-armed. He is sometimes alone and sometimes appears closely locked in embrace with his Prajñā which is his own emanation and similar in form. But he is always terrible in appearance, with terrible form and ornaments.

VI

The sixth and the last in this series of bronzes represents the benign god of Wisdom, Mañjuśrī.

This piece (plate f) exhibits a scene wherein a group of three deities is represented as seated on an ornamented pedestal. Behind is an ornamented arch with the figure of a makara and a demon, and is surmounted by a Caitya. On the whole the scene is peaceful, calm and serene.

The central deity is four-armed and one-faced, and sits on a lotus in the Vajraparyaṅka Pantheon, since we can recognize amongst them the never-to-be-forgotten Gaṇeśa with familiar elephant head and trunk, his broken tusk and his favourite dish the *Laḍḍoos.*

The central deity is four-armed and one-faced, and sits on a lotus in the Vajraparyaṅka attitude. He is four-armed and carries the raised sword in the upper right hand and the arrow in the lower right. The upper left hand shows the bow, while the lower left carrying a book is held against the chest. The deity wears an under- and an upper-garment, and is moderately decked in ornaments. Amongst the ornaments we notice the bejewelled crown, the necklace, the armlet, the bracelet and the mekhalā or the belt.

The figure to the right has an elephant's head and a trunk and is four-armed. The upper right shows the peculiar Buddhist mudrā of adoration, and the lower a broken tusk. The left upper brandishes the sword in the same manner as the principal deity, while the lower carries small sweet balls which are picked up by the trunk above. His dress and ornaments are plain and simple. He sits in the attitude of princely ease on his rat vehicle.

The figure to the left of the central deity is likewise one-faced and four-armed. With the two principal hands held against the chest he carries the kartri in the right and the kapāla in the left. The second right hand holds the ḍamaru, while the left brandishes the sword in a manner similar to the principal deity. He is moderately decked in ornaments and wears a simple dress. He sits in the attitude of princely ease on the back of a semi-human figure in the attitude of commencing to fly. The Vāhana evidently is Garuḍa who is often represented in human form.

The book and the sword representing the Prajñāpāramitā and the sword of wisdom are the well known symbols of Mañjuśrī and it is not difficult to identify the central figure as that of Mañjuśrī. Here however the Buddhist Mañjuśrī is accompanied by the Hindu gods Gaṇeśa in the right and Viṣṇu in the left. So far we have not succeeded in tracing a Dhyāna describing any figure of Mañjuśrī as being accompanied by Gaṇeśa and Viṣṇu. But that does not in the least make the identification of the central deity as Mañjuśrī in any way uncertain.

Now the point to be considered is the reason for the presence of Hindu deities in Buddhist iconology. It is possible to offer some explanation for this phenomenon although much can be written on the subject either one way or the other. The first and principal reason seems to be to make Buddhism popular with the recently incorporated Hindu converts to Buddhism. The converts are not likely to be interested in a new religion unless they see something in it that is familiar to them. Buddhism unlike Hinduism believed in conversion and they thus tried to secure numerical superiority over the followers of the Hindu faith. The temper of the Hindu was a great concern with the leaders of Buddhist organisation, and thus many Hindu deities were incorporated in the Buddhist Pantheon By this incorporation a sort of Hindu-Buddhist unity was sought to be achieved.

Even in this incorporation one important thing has to be noticed. Except probably Gaṇeśa in some isolated Sādhana no Hindu deity as such was given the principal place in the maṇḍala or the magic circle and whenever Hindu deities have been taken they are assigned either a subordinate position as in the Mañjuśrī image or a humiliating role as of Gaṇeśa in the Vighnāntaka image.

The last two images are not isolated examples. They are part of a well organised scheme of the Buddhists to incorporate and possibly to humiliate Hindu gods, in order to prove to the new converts the power of the Buddhist gods over their Hindu confrères. Many such examples as could be gathered from the well-known Buddhist Tāntric work of ritual, the Sādhanamālā, have already been collected in my work on Buddhist Iconography. Further material on the subject can be gathered from the interesting work on Maṇḍalas by Pandit Abhayākara Gupta entitled the Niṣpannayogāvalī Tantra, the text of which is already edited and is awaiting publication in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

In the Niṣpannayogāvalī Tantra no less than twenty-seven maṇḍalas or magic circles of Buddhist deities are described. In this work forms of 637 deities are accurately described, and they represent a very valuable addition to our knowledge of Buddhist iconography. As companions of principal Buddhist deities there is a host of Hindu gods and goddesses in

many of the Maṇḍalas. Their number is, however, longest in the Maṇḍala of Kālacakra, and I take this opportunity to refer to them here as briefly as possible.

The principal deity Kālacakra besides having his numerous companions has three circles of deities one after another. They are called the Kāyamaṇḍala, Vāṅmaṇḍala and Cittamaṇḍala. It is in the Vāṅmaṇḍala and the Kāyamaṇḍala that Hindu deities are placed. On the filament of the eastern lotus appears the Hindu deity Carcikā siting on a corpse, black in colour, carrying the kartri and triśūla in the right and the kapāla and khatvāṅga in the left. She is embraced by Indra. On the eight petals surrounding this lotus are deities Bhīmā, Ugrā, Kāladaṅṣṭrā, Vāyuvegā, Pracaṇḍā, Raudrākṣī and Sthūlanāsā.

On the filament of the lotus in the Agni corner on Garuḍa sits Vaiṣṇavī, black in colour, and carrying the cakra and the gadā in the right and the padma and the śaṅkha in the left. She is embraced by Brahmā. On the petals appear the deities Māyā, Kīrtī, Lakṣmī, Vijayā, Jayantī and Śricakrī.

On the Southern lotus on a buffalo sits the deity Vārāhī red in colour, sow-faced carrying the daṇḍa and the khaḍga in the right and the śṛṅkhalā and the hala in the left. She is embraced by Rudra. On the petals sit Kaṅkālī, Kālarātri, Prakupitavadanā, Kālajihvā, Karālī, Ghorā and Virūpā.

In the Nairṛta corner on a lotus on a peacock, sits Kaumārī, red in colour, six-faced, carrying the vajra and bāṇa in the right and the ghaṇṭā and cāpa in the left. She is embraced by Gaṇeśa. On the petals of the lotus appear Padmānaṅga, Kumarī, Mṛgapatigamanā, Ratnamālā, Sunetrā, Śivā and Subhadrā.

On the Western lotus sits on the Airāvata elephant the deity Aindrī, yellow in colour, carrying the vajra and bāṇa in the right and the ghaṇṭā and cāpa in the left. She is embraced by the demon Nirṛti. The petals are occupied by Vajrābhā, Vajragātrā, Kuhakavatī, Urvaśī, Citralekhā, Rambhā, Abhayā and Sutārā.

On the lotus of the Vāyu corner on the goose sits Brahmāṇī with yellow face and carrying the padma and brahmadaṇḍa in the right and the kuṇḍa and pātra in the left. She is embraced by Viṣṇu. The petals are occupied by Sāvitrī, Padmanetrī, Jaladavatī, Buddhi, Vagīśvarī, Gāyatrī and Vidyutsmṛti.

On the lotus of the North on a bull sits the deity Raudrī, white in coulour, carrying the triśūla and ḍamaru in the right and the khaṭvāṅga and śara in the left. She is embraced by Yama, the Hindu God of Death. The petals are occupied by Gaurī, Gaṅgā, Nityā, Tvaritā, Totalā, Lakṣaṇā, Piṅgalā and Kṛṣṇā.

On the lotus of the Īśāna corner on a lion sits Lakṣmī, white in colour, carrying the padma and akṣasūtra in the right and the padma and ratna in the left. She is embraced by Kārttikeya, the Hindu god of War. The petals are occupied by Śrī, Candralekhā, Śaśadharavadanā, Haṁsavarṇā, Dhṛti, Padmeśā, Tāranetrā and Vimalaśaśadharā.

The above are the deities of the Vāṅmaṇḍala in the Kālacakramaṇḍala. In the Kāyamaṇḍala again numerous Hindu deities appear, and amongst them we notice the following names:—

Pūrṇimā, Amāvāsyā, Nairṛti embraced by Rākṣasī, Vāyu with his consort Pracaṇḍā,

Yama with Kālī, Agni with Varuṇa, Ṣaṇmukha with Lakṣmī, Kubera with Kauberī, Śakra with Vāsavī, Brahmā with Vidyut, Rudra with Gaurī, Samudra with Vārāhī, Gaṇeśa with Kaumārī, Viṣṇu with Śrī. There are besides a host of minor Hindu deities too numerous to mention. The way the Hindu deities are incorporated in the Kālacakramaṇḍala shows that there was a necessity for such inclusion and not animosity or rancour. In Kālacakra I find trace of a gigantic attempt in the middle ages to bring the warring followers of Hinduism and Buddhism under the common banner of Kālacakra, the Circle of Time or the Eternal Time, the highest god of all, against the cultural penetration of aliens.

THE MIGRATION OF THE MAGIC SYLLABLE OṂ

by

J. J. BOELES
Bangkok

Oṃ. This syllable is the universe.
Māṇḍukya-upaniṣad, I, 1.1.

In the dazzling aspects, revealed by the ancient Brahmins in their philosophic speculations, they made use of expressions, coined phrases, words or symbols with the object of defining the results of their ever proceeding mental evolution, each of these representing a world of religious thoughts and far-reaching philosophic conceptions.

One of the milestones on the path of Hindu thought is the conception of Oṃ, the importance of which, though quite meaningless in itself, can hardly be overestimated. The foundation of the knowledge of Oṃ is laid down in the secret doctrines of the upaniṣads, which to the initiated reveal the sense of the mysterious Vedas. In the Ṛg- and Atharvaveda Oṃ is not yet mentioned at all [1]). The use of this syllable seems to commence in the vedic ritual, because the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII, 18) mentions that on the day of the ceremonial anointment of a king, chants from the Ṛg-veda shall be recited by the *hotṛ* priest, in reply to which the adhvaryu shall say Oṃ. Said Brāhmaṇa states further that the word Oṃ is of divine origin. The important development of the meaning of Oṃ to a mystic doctrine is laid down in the upaniṣads and here in Hinduistic sense it obtains its definite interpretation as the universe, which is the very identification of the sacred principle of brahman. The Chāndogya-upaniṣad of the Sāmaveda (2.23) contains a description of the origin of Oṃ: (2) Prajāpati, the Lord of all creatures, was brooding the wordly spaces, from them ... fled the triple science (the three Vedas); ... from them ... fled these sounds: bhūr, bhuvaḥ, svar (earth, atmosphere, heaven).

(3) These three were brooded by Him; from them ... fled the sound Oṃ. Therefore, like all leaves pierced (saṃtṛṇa) by one nail, the sound Oṃ pierces the reason (ratio); the sound Oṃ is the universe.

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1) KEITH, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 1917, vol IX, p. 490.

The Kāthaka-upaniṣad (2.16) of the Yajurveda adds:

Yes, this syllable (Oṃ) is Brahman
This syllable is the Highest
He who knoweth this syllable
Receives, whatever he may wish.

In the philosophy of the Brahmins, the conception of the brahman is the highest obtainable object. The ātman or subjective perception shall unify itself with the brahman; absolute this mystic union can be obtained only by profound meditation upon the meaning of the sound Oṃ. Like a spider climbing the thread of his web is the yogin, who ascending through meditation upon the sound Oṃ obtains freedom in the union with brahman [2]). The syllable Oṃ is the symbol of the wordless brahman.

Further development of Oṃ, in Sanskrit usually represented by the vowel O with Anusvāra (ṃ) is laid down in the Maitrāyaṇa-upaniṣad of the Yajurveda (6.3), in which it is said, that Oṃ is the very essence of the brahman and that the sound Oṃ made itself threefold, for this sound contains the three morae A+U+M.

These three factors give opportunity to the boundless fantasy of Indian thought to raise the sound Oṃ to a symbol for all sorts of trinities as:

1) feminine, masculine, neutral; 2) Fire, Wind, Sun; 3) Brahman, Rudra, Viṣṇu; later: Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Siva; 4) Gārhapatya, Dakṣiṇāgni, Ahavanīya (three sacrificial fires); 5) Bhūr, Bhuvaḥ, Svar (three worlds); 6) Prāṇa, Agni, Sūrya; 7) Food. Water, Moon; 8) Buddhi, Manas, Ahaṃkara (three elements of knowledge); 9) Prāṇa, Apāna, Vyāna (three elements of prāṇa). In later times also: 10) Moon, Sun, Fire; 11) Iḍā, Piṅgalā, Suṣumnā.

Therefore when the word Oṃ is uttered, all mentioned categories are included and honoured at the same time [3]). The motto of this paper has not promised too much. Said upaniṣad continues with the following equation: Oṃ = bhūr, bhuvaḥ, svar = Prajāpati: the all pervading vedic God. Bhūr is his head, bhuvaḥ his navel and svar his feet; for this reason bhūr, bhuvaḥ, svar are to be honoured with this threefold sound, for Prajāpati will be honoured also [4]).

Still further speculations are developed in the younger Brahmavidyā-upaniṣad containing the secret doctrine of the science of the brahman; the three vedas, sacrificial fires, worlds and gods are the body (śarīra) of the sound Oṃ (I 4-7). Moreover as to the place (sthāna) of this syllable it is mentioned that in the centre of the conchshell (śaṅkha) the A shines as the Sun; and again in its middle (as we are to understand) is the U-sound, like the lustre of the moon. There is also the place of the M-sound, like the fire, without smell and like the lightning's flash. The lustre of the syllables A+U+M shines like the moon,

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2) DEUSSEN, *Sechzig Upanishads des Veda*, 1938, p. 97-98.
3) *Maitrāyaṇa-upaniṣad*, (6.3).
4) *Maitrāyaṇa upaniṣad*, (6.6).

the sun and the fire [5]). A pointed flame is placed above, like the shine of a torch. Comparison is made with the last point of the sound Oṃ, viz. the point (bindu) of the anusvāra (ṃ) which in Sanskrit is placed above the vowel O and which is likewise a pointed flame (śikha). Also the resound (laya) of Oṃ has a meaning; it is like the last sound of a bell and also in here the brahman is present, which leads to immortality [6]).

Of later date even a special upaniṣad has been dedicated to the echo (nāda) of Oṃ and the bindu of the anusvāra, called Nādabindu-upaniṣad [7]).

The Yoga-upaniṣad declares that meditation over the sound Oṃ with its three and later three and a half morae (together with complete disconnection of the conscious mind), contains the real fruit for the exertions of the Yogin, in consequence of which the ultimate goal, the union with the brahman shall be obtained. This doctrine is found also in the complete literature of the Yoga, to begin with Patañjali.

Considering that the mystic syllable Oṃ brings the bliss, the deliverance from the Saṃsāra, it is not surprising that also the Buddhists availed themselves of this holy and imperishable word. As in Hinduism the syllable Oṃ is the dominant factor in the magic prayers or spells, the mantras of tantric Buddhism. The most popular mantra, more correctly the most popular dhāraṇī or mystic power is the wellknown formula Oṃ mani padme hūm i.e. Oṃ, holy jewel in the lotus, hum, which in Tibet is the invocation of the Bodhisattva Avalakiteśvara or Padmapāṇi.

In many cases this dhāraṇī when in print, is preceded by a symbol, placed horizontally and it looks like a curl with a loop. From earlier Sanskrit manuscripts we know that it stands for the magic syllable Oṃ. We can observe this very clearly in a Tibetan woodcut published by Schlagintweit [8]).

The use of this symbol representing the auspicious Oṃ in inscriptions and MSS. in India is quite in accordance with the old Brahmanic principle that it is necessary to pronounce Oṃ at the beginning of the instruction of the Veda in order to preserve the holy script as otherwise it will not stay in the memory of the pupil. The law of Manu (II, 74) says: "Let him always pronounce the syllable Oṃ at the beginning and at the end of (a lesson in) the Veda; (for) unless the syllable Oṃ precedes (the lesson) will slip away (from him), and unless it follows it will fade away." Moreover the use of this symbol in inscriptions and MSS. means a good omen, a maṅgala and when this auspicious syllable is represented as in this case by a symbol it is called a maṅgala-symbol by the epigraphists. Besides Oṃ there exist various other maṅgala-symbols such as the svastika, the triśula and the triratna-symbol

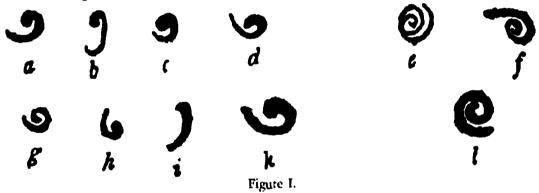
5) In *Maitr. up.* (6) the sun is equal to Oṃ. DEUSSEN, *loc cit.*, p. 332: "Führwahr, die Sonne ist dieses Oṃ." COOMARASWAMY, *A new approach to the Vedas*, 1933, p. 49: "Beholding that the Supernal- Sun is Oṃ, unify therewith thyself." In the same prapāṭhaka (6.4) is also said "the Fiery Energy, the tejas that is the Supernal Sun and it is likewise of the Oṃ." We shall refer to this later on.

6) *Brahmavidyā-up.* II and III.

7) Cf. *Brahmabindu, Amṛtabindu, Dhyānabindu, Tejobindu* and *Yogaśikha up.*; DEUSSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 643 etc.

8) SCHLAGINTWEIT, *Le Bouddhisme au Tibet*, pl. XIV.

with the wheel of the law or dharmacakra. In MSS, grants etc. where they appear in the beginning middle and the end, these maṅgalas are purposely placed there in order to accompany these documents with auspicious signs and to promote the preservation of the contents [9]). Therefore these figures are meant as maṅgala-symbols with auspicious and doubtless also with magical significance. In epigraphical records the sacred Oṃ is either written in full or represented by a symbol sometimes both types are met with. The symbol is drawn like a curl or spiral, sometimes turning to the right and in other cases turning to the left and it is quite likely that we must understand this symbol as a conventional representation of the sacred conch shell or śaṅkha. As early as the fifth century of our era the symbol Oṃ is used in MSS. and we find various forms in the famous Bower manuscript, which is written in a mixed sanskrit with nāgarī characters as used in the Gupta-period. (300-600 A.D.). The manuscript, a medical compendium, was brought to light by the British lieutenant H. Bower in Kachgar, one of the principal settlements in Eastern Turkestan on the great caravan route to China, which skirts the foot of the Tian Shan Range of mountains on the Northern edge of Takla Makan desert [10]). The discovery of this document was the immediate cause of a number of expeditions to Innermost Asia, the startling results of which were brought within the reach of Western Science by such famous explorers like Sir Autel Stein and A. von Lecoq.

Figure I.

The earliest specimens of the maṅgala Oṃ are taken from fig. 8 of Hoernle's edition of this MS. and shown on our fig. I. The author observes: "The dextrorse form may be seen on the first leaf of the Bower MSS. Part I (our fig. Ia), Part II (fig. Ib and c), and Part III (fig. Id), while the sinistrorse form appears on the first leaf of Part IV (fig. Ie) and Part VI (fig. If) .... In all the Parts, except the second, the symbol occupies the usual position facing the first line of the text of the manuscript; but in Part II it appears in the more unusual position, exactly as it is seen in the two copper-plate grants of Ananta Varman, dateable probably in the sixth century A.D. (our fig. Ig and h) shown in Dr. Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions pp. 220 and 226, Plates XXXB and XXXI A. Among the dated northern Indian

9) BÜHLER, *Indische Palaeographie*; Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, 1896, p. 85.

10) HOERNLE, *The Bower Manuscript, Calcutta*, 1893-1912.

epigraphical records of the Gupta period, the earliest known examples of the dextrorse form of the symbol Oṃ are those of the year 448-449 A.D. in the stone inscription of Kumāra Gupta I (fig. I i; See *ibid.* p. 45, Plate VI a) and of the year 493-494 A.D. in a copper-plate grant of Jayanātha (our fig. I k; see *ibid.*, p. 120, Plate XVI). The earliest known example of the sinistrorse form occurs in a copper-plate grant of Mahā-Sadevarāja, of an unknown though early date (our fig I l; *ibid.*, p. 198, Plate XXVI), and apparently though mutilated, also in the Bodhgayā inscriptions of 558 A.D. (*Ibid.*, Plate XLI A and B) of course, these dates are not sufficiently numerous to settle the exact beginning and end of the period of the use of the two forms, but on the whole the sinistrorse form seems to be somewhat later in origin" [11]).

We must presume that the curious curl on which the Oṃ maṅgala is based must have been derived from the old vowel O, known from Bühler's alphabets. This is demonstrated in the inscription of Aphsad in Bengal of abt. 675 A.D. written in a sanskrit alphabet from Northern India (fig. IIa) [12]). The resemblance of this vowel with the Oṃ symbol of fig. II b as used in the Harṣa inscription of the Cakrāmana-king Vigraha II of 973 A.D., written in a North-Indian sanskrit alphabet of later date is striking [13]). This specimen takes the shape of a question mark. Another form of Oṃ which we only mention here for completeness' sake, is found in the Deval-praśasti of 993 A.D. in which also a North-Indian Sanskrit alphabet has been used. In this case Oṃ is composed of the vocal O with the anusvāra (ṃ) [14]) (fig. II c). We observe that till the present day the common type of Oṃ symbol used in Indian palaeography is the pure curl, since the Bower manuscript designed in a simple curve. A later specimen is met with in the Achyutapuram copper-plate of Indravarman I, king of Kaliṅga (Orissa); fig. II d. The curve is turning to the right just like the curls of the Buddha Śākyamuni's hair and which marks one of his lakṣanas or auspicious signs. The interesting feature about these copper plates is the symbol Oṃ at the end of the inscription, which is represented by a curl with a drawn out spiral tail (our fig. II e). It seems a younger variety of the Oṃ symbol. The specimens of the mystic syllable in our fig. I and II show the best known varieties of this auspicious sign in India. They are not limited to the use in inscriptions or in MSS. dedicated to one type of Indian religion; on the contrary they are part of the cultural assets of the Indian peoples; whether they are or were Brahmins, Buddhists or Jainists. Furthermore, we hope to prove that those countries, which have kept direct cultural relations with India, have adopted also the use of the maṅgala Oṃ together with the various religious thoughts and other Hindu institutions. Also outside India the influence of the magical power of the syllable Oṃ was felt and we shall try to pursue the migration of this auspicious sign.

Figure II.

11) *Op. cit.*, p. XXIII.
12) BÜHLER, *op. cit.*, T. IV, 6, XVIII, XIX.
13) BÜHLER, *op cit.*, Tafel, V, 47, IX.
14) BÜHLER, *op. cit.*, Tafel, V, 9, VIII.

Tibet.

Nowhere in the world is the use of the dhāraṇī *Oṃ maṇi padme hūm* as popular as in Tibet. According to the Lamaistic scholastici, the syllables contain the quintessence of the mahāyāna and at the same time are its revelation, and this dogma gives them opportunity to ascribe a variety of thoughts to this dhāraṇī [15]). One of their sacred books, the Māni-kah bum, states that this formula is the very essence of all happiness, prosperity and knowledge and the great means of deliverance (of the saṃsāra). *Oṃ* classes rebirth amongst the gods, *ma* amongst the Tibetans, *ṇi* as a man, *pad* as a beast, *me* as a tantalus, and *hūm* as an inhabitant of hell. This shows again the divine origin of the syllable Oṃ. With the object of increasing the magic power of these mystic spells, they are sometimes concentrated into a symbolic monogram and very often its picture is seen on the wall of sacred monuments. One of them is the magic monogram rNam-bcu-dlan-ldan or the all powerful ten syllables. This monogram is framed by the outlines of a leaf of the sacred bodhi tree (ficus religiosa). Grünwedel seems to be the only reliable source that gives a complete explanation of the all powerful ten, which actually represents the relation between microsmios and macrosmos [16]). On top of the monogram as we see it, is placed a symbol consisting of moon, sun and fire, which according to the Brahmavidyā upaniṣad stands for Oṃ. According to Grünwedel it stands for a new trinity, kāya, vāc and citta [17]). These conceptions are very important for the understanding of Kālacakra Buddhism.

Further India

It is not very likely that the symbol Oṃ was brought to Further India together with the Buddhist religion from India; in our opinion the introduction must have taken place later at a time when the Buddhism of the prae-Angkorean period was already overwhelmed by the religion of the Brahmins. It is certainly not a coincidence that when discussing Cambodia, the central part of the old Khmer Empire, we find in the Sanskrit inscription of the large stèle of the temple Praḥ Ko dated 877 A.D. and erected during the reign of the Cambodian King Indravarman I (877-899), the same use and representation of our Oṃ symbol as shown in our fig. II d and II e of the inscription on the copper plate from Achyutapuram and in which also Indravarman's name is mentioned as a king of Kaliṅga.

Indravarman I, King of Cambodia, took a pride in his alleged descent from the Indian ṛṣi Agastya, which would point to a relation of Cambodia and Southern India [18]).

During Indravarman's reign a great number of Cambodian temples were erected and

15) KOEPPEN, *Die Lamaistische Hierarchie und Kirche,* 1859, p. 59

16) GRÜNWEDEL, *Der Weg nach Sambhala. Abh. kgl. Bayr. Ak. der Wiss. phil.-hist. Kl. Band 29. München* 1918. We owe this deeply buried treasure to POTT, *Yoga en Yantra,* 1946, pp. 61 sq.

17) A very clear woodcut of the All powerful ten is also to be found in: SCHLAGINTWEIT, *Le Bouddhisme au Tibet, Annales de Musée Guimet,* 1881; pl. XV. The interpretation given however is not correct.

18) COOMARASWAMY, *Geschichte der indischen und indonesischen Kunst,* 1927, p. 211.

Parmentier has dedicated a monograph to the art of Indravarman [19]). Since that time we meet a widespread application of the Oṃ syllable in Cambodian inscriptions both of the single curl-type and in the shape of an inverted question mark with spiral tail. For this purpose a simple perusal of the volumes of the "Inscriptions du Cambodge" is sufficient [20]). The Cambodian artist deserves however merit for having raised the magic maṅgala Oṃ to a symbol, that is applied to sculpture both of Sivaitic and Buddhistic nature in a harmonious and ever varying way. As to Siva we see this god with the Oṃ symbol in his "chignon", the cylindric hairdress on his head, whilst the Buddha on his uṣṇīṣa wears a flame symbol in the shape of an inverted question mark with spiral tail, as shown in type c of fig. II. The Oṃ symbol applied to statues of Siva and the Buddha are entirely different and confusion is hardly possible. In this respect we may rely on the Oṃ symbol as a specific iconographic feature of the art of Further India; Burma included [21]).

We do not know with certainty which religion was first to provide their holy images with the sign of the auspicious symbol. No such statues however are found before the reign of Indravarman, i.e. not before the second half of the 9th century. As in Indravarman's time Buddhism was certainly not the principal religion there is reason to believe, that the Lord Siva was the oldest wearer of this magical sign. We do not know any specific images of Viṣṇu or Brahmā with the symbol Oṃ in their hairdress. Still Groslier in Ars Asiatica XVI, pl. XXXVII 1, shows us a bronze statue with four arms, that judging from the attributes represent Viṣṇu but the cylindrical hairdress shows on the front side and without doubt the symbol Oṃ, in a way which so far we have only met in Tibet. It is that symbol consisting of the crescent moon and the sun with rising flame, of which, as we have seen, the Brahmavidyā upaniṣad says: the lustre of the syllables A+U+M shines like the moon, the sun and the fire. The Oṃ sign is a special attribute of Siva and for this reason Groslier designates the statue as Harihara, i.e. Viṣṇu and Siva united in one god [22]). Further varieties of the Oṃ symbols are shown by Groslier, *op. cit.*, in fig. 1, pl. XXXVIII where the head of Siva as guru or of a Brahman priest (with beard) is reproduced; also Coomaraswamy, *loc. cit.*, fig. 337 showing Siva with a short beard or perhaps or a Saiva king.

In later times, the Cambodian Mahāyāna Buddhism as in Tibet has taken possession of the Oṃ symbol and this religion by raising this sign to a mighty symbol of the eternal Buddha has given it a very important signification. In the Buddhist art of the Bayon period (12-13th century) we observe in many cases the Buddha represented by his statue with the flaming Oṃ symbol of the type of the inverted question mark with spiral tail placed on the uṣṇīṣa, in which sign the French scholars did not fail to recognize the holy symbol Oṃ. (See Groslier, Ars Asiatica XVI, pl. X. 1). The application of this symbol in the Buddhistic art

19) *BEFEO*, Vol. XIX, p. 1 etc. For the correct chronology of the monuments see: de CORAL RÉMUSAT; *l'Art Khmer*, 1940, p. 128-130.

20) Vol. VI, Pl. cc XLVIII, cc XLVII, cc XVII, Vol. IV, Pl. cc XXVI, (Lolei).

21) The Oṃ symbol is found in the inscriptions of Burma, and also in the later Buddhistic art of that country, as ūrṇā.

22) GROSLIER, *Les collections du Musée Albert Saraut, Ars Asiatica* XVI, 1931, Pl. XXXVII, no. 1.

of Further India is quite a new conception and as far as we know, unknown in India and Tibet. Nevertheless we should not forget that the threefold symbol Oṃ actually is part of the design of the all powerful ten which according to Csoma de Körös (J.A.S.B. II, 1833, p. 57-58) was very well known in Nālandā, though probably not before the 10th century, the period during which the Kālacakra system seems to have been introduced in India. Grünwedel justly asserts that this latest phase of Buddhism cannot properly be understood without knowledge of the meaning of the all powerful ten formula.

The flame-symbol Oṃ on the uṣṇīṣa of the Buddha i.e. without the crescent moon and sun, has remained in favour among Buddhist clergy to such an extent that even after the renewed rise of Hīnayāna in Further India in the 14th century we find that the best known types of statues of the Manuṣi Buddha are provided with an uṣṇīṣa on top of which is placed the flame symbol Oṃ, representing the magic energy the tejas of the Lord. The fact as shown in the upaniṣads that this fiery energy, the *tejas* is identical with Oṃ, enabled the Buddhists to recognize in this flaming emblem a Buddhistic trinity i.e. the triratna, which stands for the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha to which every Buddhist takes his refuge when entering monkhood.

When the power of the Khmer sovereigns in the neighbouring Siam declined, as a result of which in the latter country Hīnayāna during the reign of the Thai kings of the Sukhodaya dynasty (13th and 14th century) became the religion of the people, we find the flame symbol applied everywhere on top of the Lord's uṣṇīṣa, this conception in our opinion being derived however from Cambodia [23]). Since that time this symbol was maintained in almost all styles of Buddhistic Art in Further India; in later date also in Burma. Plate a shows a very beautiful specimen with the tejas-Oṃ-flame symbol of the Uthong school in Siam. To-day the Buddhist people in Siam no longer understand the significance of said symbol emerging from the Buddha's head [24]). Still the later rulers of Siam were quite aware of the importance of this symbol and even the late king of Siam still carried the mark of this auspicious sign, the maṅgala Oṃ, in His coat-of-arms in the form of the inverted question mark. Still the anointed King's command is called Oṃkāra, as we were informed by H.R.H. Prince Dhani.

In the epigraphical documents of Siam we find that the palm leave manuscripts show often at the end of the text a symbol for the sacred Oṃ in the same way as seen in the inscription of Indravarman of Kaliṅga. In this connection we like to show in plate b a remarkable vase with beautiful light green glazing, which is reproduced here thanks to the courtesy of the Museum of Asiatic Art in Amsterdam. This vase is of Chinese origin and though the colour of its glazing shows Sung influence, it was probably manufactured

23) Images of the Buddha from Ceylon are also known to have a flame uṣṇīṣa. This emblem however does not represent the Om symbol, but it looks more like a lyre-like emblem, as Dr. le May calls it. As this Ceylonese variety is not known in Further India, we are not convinced that the flame uṣṇīṣa as found in Siam is derived from Ceylon.

24) LE MAY, *Buddhist Art in Siam*, 1938. The author of this indispensable treatise is the inventor of the expression "inverted question mark with spiral tail."

during the Ming period (1368-1644). The neck of this vase which seems to have been sawn off, is rather interesting; on three sides and within a triangle (*trikoṇa*) we see the figure of an unmistakeable Oṃ symbol. As this variety of the inverted question mark belongs typically to Further India and during the Ming period specially in favour in Siam, whilst the shape of this symbol according to experts is unknown in Chinese ceramics, it is quite likely that this vase was ordered from China by Thai or Khmer; an example of "porcelaine de commande". Judging from the shape and glazing we dot not think that this vase should belong to the Savankaloke-ware made in Siam during the Sukhotai period. We have recently seen a similar vase in the Museum at Batavia.

Another development in the Buddhistic art of Further India is the representation of the sign of the magical Oṃ on the forehead of Buddhistic gods and which replaces the traditional ūrṇā. The sculptor Miestchaninoff discovered near the Ta Prohm temple, built during the Bayon period (12th-13th century), a stone head of a Buddhistic god. On the forehead we see the Oṃ symbol instead of the traditional ūrṇā [25]). Also saints of Bodhisattva rank seem to have been adorned by the Oṃ type of ūrṇā. The art of Northern Indo-china, the Lao states and that of Northern Siam produced many images of the Buddha with the flame-symbol Oṃ on the uṣṇīṣa, and at the same time also with the Oṃ symbol on the forehead thus replacing the ūrṇā [26]). Our conclusion is that the uṣṇīṣa with flame-symbol always indicates the Lord Śākyamuni but the replacement of the ūrṇā by said symbol is applied to Bodhisattvas also.

Images of the Buddha specially from Northern Siam and Laos are very often seen with an ūrṇā in the shape of the well-known inverted question mark type, as in our fig. II e, in Siamese called uṇṇālom, deriving from the Siamese Pratama Sambodhi (19th century) which says "uṇṇāloma bhamukantare". Loma = fine hair. The pāli (and Siamese) lakkhaṇa sutta of the Dīgha-nikāya says: uṇṇā bhamukantare etc. (Burnouf, Le Lotus de la bonne Loi, tome II, p. 563). The flame uṣṇīṣa is called in Siames ketumāla = garland of hair or praḥ ketu).

The Maṅgala Oṃ in the Indian Archipelago.

As the inscriptions show that the maṅgala Oṃ was generally used in the epigraphical records of India it will be evident that also in the inscriptions of the East Indies, which as regards its contents, language and characters show such close connection with the Indian documents, the magical symbol Oṃ is encountered very frequently.

The Oṃ symbol serving as a maṅgala is seen again at the beginning and end of the inscriptions in both varieties known in India, i.e. the simple curve of fig. II type a, dextrorse or sinistrorse and in the shape of the inverted question mark with spiral tail of fig. II type e.

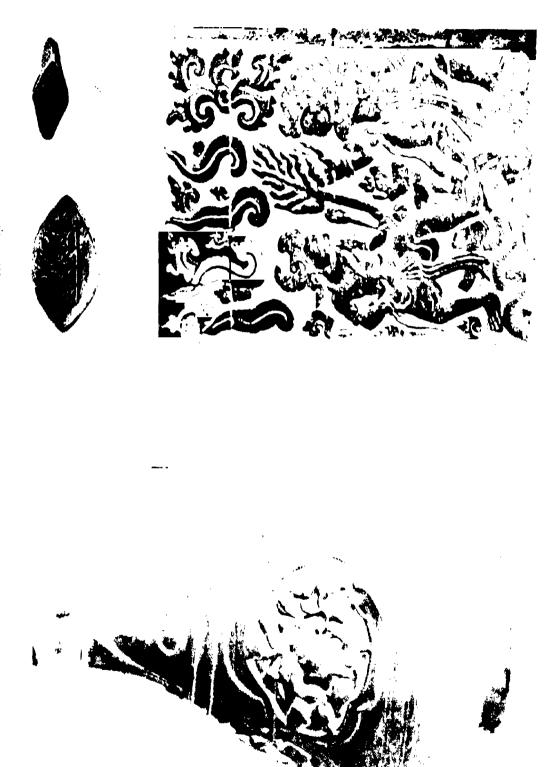
25) MARCHAL et MIESTCHANINOFF, *Sculptures Khmères*, Pl. VII, VIII. We must admit that the rather cruel features are not very typical for the "softer" Bayon school.

26) A bronze standing statue of Śakyamuni from Laos, with the Oṃ sign as uṇṇālom is to be found in the Ethnographical Museum in Leyden. (Property H. van Meurs) about 18th century.

THE MIGRATION OF THE MAGIC SYLLABLE OṂ

Photo Pestonji, Bangkok

1 ŚAKYAMUNI (UTHONG), SIAM

THE MIGRATION OF THE MAGIC SYLLABLE OM

b. SUNG OR MING VASE WITH OM SYMBOL
c. and *d.* GOLDEN FINGER-RINGS FROM HINDU-JAVA (from *Djawa* VII)
e. RĀMĀYANA RELIEF FROM CANḌI PANATARAN

Our investigation shows that the first and dated record of the Indian Archipelago on which at the end the Oṃ symbol has been engraved is that important inscription in stone of Kota Kapur on the isle of Bangka, dated Saka 608 (686 A.D.) and written in ancient Malay language. Its contents brings us back to the powerful kingdom of Srīvijaya extending its sway over parts of Sumatra, Bangka and the Malay Peninsula [27]). The maṅgala Oṃ shows the type of the inverted question mark with spiral tail from our type e as seen in fig. III type a. The resemblance with the maṅgala Oṃ at the end of the inscription of Indravarman of Kaliṅga of the 8th or 9th century (fig. II type e) is striking. The Bangka inscription seems to be of an earlier date than that of Indravarman, but both have the name maṅgala in common, though there is no reason to believe that this type e from Bangka was not introduced from India, the country of origin of all Hinduistic and Buddhistic institutions.

Figure III.

When tracing the track of the Maṅgala Oṃ in the other dated inscriptions we shall be able to follow this symbol in Indonesia till the beginning of the 14th century. When the reader has followed the description of the Oṃ symbol in its various shapes in India, he will have no difficulty in recognizing the maṅgala Oṃ exactly in the middle of the leafwork above the large inscription of Canggal of Saka 654 (732 A.D.) from Kedu in Central Java (fig. III b). The auspicious sign of this important and oldest dated edict from Java has the simple curl turning to the right of fig. II type d.

Furthermore, we mention two Old-Javanese grants dated about 878 and 881, at the end of these inscriptions we see Oṃ symbols of the Indian type from fig. II a, but in reversed position and showing a crude variety of the elegant type II e with spiral tail (fig. III c and d) [28]). An interesting specimen is met in the Old-Javanese jayapattra of Saka 844 (922 A.D.) published by the late Stutterheim [29]). At the end of this grant we find the maṅgala Oṃ behind a curious figure, in which we recognise the emblem of the engraver called Sang Yidi, at the right side of which is placed the Oṃ symbol designed in fig. III e and to be compared with fig. II type d.

The large inscriptions en haut-relief of the monument of Jalatuṇḍa, on the Western slopes of mount Penanggungan in Eastern-Java are in this respect of particular interest. One of these states the Saka Year 899 (977 A.D.) in large and beautifully designed

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27) G. GOEDÈS, *Les inscriptions Malaises de Çrivijaya*, *BEFEO* XXX, p. 27 etc. With facsimiles. KERN's facsimiles in *Verspreide Geschriften (V.G.)*, VII, 1917 p. 209 are not clear enough in this respect.

28) COHEN STUART, *Kawi Oorkonden*, 1875. Inscriptions XII and XIV h. Introduction p. X and XI.

29) *Oudheidkundig Verslag (O.V.)* 1925, p. 59-60. STUTTERHEIM, *Epigraphica*; *Tijdschrift Bataviaasch Genootschap* 75, p. 444, etc.

characters. On both sides of this date a large Oṃ symbol is placed, designed in the simple shape of curl which turns to the right as shown in type of figure II [30]). Precisely the same bold Oṃ symbols are to be found on the pendant of this inscription on both sides of the Old-Javanese word "Gempeng", of which its meaning is all but clear. See fig. III f [31]). The latest inscription of this dated range bears the year Saka 924 (1002 A.D.) and can be seen also hewn in large character en haut relief on a stone from Tulis of the desa Puh-Sarang, district Maparata (Kediri) [32]). Behind the very large paten (virāma) or sound killer at the end of the inscription, a curl is shown which turns to the right, serving as a closing maṅgala Oṃ in the same way as the Oṃ symbol of Jalatuṇḍa [33]). (See fig. III type g).

c

Inscriptions of King Adityavarman of Sumatra

Figure IV.

The most interesting collection of Oṃ symbols in the Indian archipelago are to be found on Sumatra some 350 years later, in the inscriptions that are known as belonging to the reign of King Adityavarman. For our purpose we have chosen five of the most characteristic examples which are brought together in fig. IV. Here we see again the maṅgala Oṃ in the shape of a horizontally placed inverted question mark with spiral tail of type e, which about seven centuries ago was last seen in Bangka on the inscription of Kota Kapur; provided we do not count the poor specimen of fig. III d. The first of these series of inscriptions from Sumatra is engraved on the back side of the celebrated image of Amoghapāśa at Rambahan near Lubuk Bulan in the districts of Bantang-Hari in Central-Sumatra; it is dated Saka 1269 (1347 A.D.) [34]). The end of the inscription shows a

30) KROM, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst* (1923) II, plate 46.

31) KROM, *H. J. G.*, p. 234; *O.V.* 1921, p. 78, fig. 1.

32) KERN, *V.G.* VII, p. 80 etc. with facsimile.

33) Though not a dated inscription, we wish to draw attention to the inscribed brick as per No. 52 of Groeneveldts catalogue of the Batavia Museum p. 391. The inscription "Si ka" is preceded by a curl, according to Dr. Crucq a symbolic sign. Indeed and we are inclined to call it an Oṃ symbol. Various Oṃ maṅgalas are also to be found in the well-known book on Indonesian alphabets of Holle under the heading "Zinteekens". See CRUCQ, *Epigrafische aanteekeningen, O.V.*, 1929, p. 262 and HOLLE, *Tabel van Oud- en Nieuw-Indische Alphabetten*, 1882, p. 33-35. The very fine Oṃ symbols of copperplate II of ç 762 (?) are taken from the "Spurious inscription" No. II of COHEN STUART's *Kawi-Oorkonden.*

34) KERN, *V G.* VII, 1917, p 163-175.

maṅgala in the shape of a horizontally placed Oṃ symbol (fig. IV a). As already observed this auspicious sign very much resembles type e of the copper-grant of King Indravarman of Kaliṅga. The maṅgala Oṃ is shown even more conspicuously at the end of Ādityavarman's undated inscription of ten lines hewn in the rocks at Bandar Batu Bapahat near Suruaso likewise in Sumatra [35]). The inscription, hardly to be deciphered, shows at the end a beautiful Oṃ symbol measuring 9 cm as shown in fig. IV type b.

Curious varieties of the maṅgala Oṃ are found in the inscriptions of Ādityavarman of Śaka 1278 (1356 A.D.) and Śaka 1300 (1378 A.D.), now to be seen at Pagarrujung, subdivision Fort Van der Capellen in Sumatra (fig. IV c) [36]). On top of the memorial stone slab we see in the centre a figure, the lower side of which is formed by an Oṃ symbol in horizontal position. On the left side before the first lines is placed the curious variety of the maṅgala Oṃ as already discussed (fig. IV c) whilst the inscription ends with an Oṃ symbol of the type in use during Ādityavarman's reign and which resembles the Indian type e of fig. II. Perhaps the purpose of these auspicious signs is no other than to strengthen and protect the power of the edict.

Another variety is seen at the beginning of an inscription of Ādityavarman at Kubur Raja (Mĕnangkabau) [37]). Here the Oṃ emblem is shown as the first syllable of the text, which otherwise has been written in "barbarous sanskrit" [38]) (Fig. IV type d).

When again the patient reader has followed the various varieties of our magical symbol Oṃ, he will not find it difficult to recognize also this auspicious sign in this last of the maṅgalas shown in our table drawn from the epigraphical records of Ādityavarman (fig. IV e). It is to be found on the right side of the first lines of the undated inscription in South-Indian Grantha characters, that was already mentioned in connection with Bandar Batu Bapahat [39]). It is the finest representation of the magical symbol Oṃ so far met with in Indian records. At the end of our remarks about the Oṃ maṅgala used in Ādityavarman's time (14th century) we like to observe that the shape of the symbol, of which the engravers of this Sumatran king knew to make such fine varieties, show hardly any resemblance with that sign in the Old-Javanese epigraphy and as we shall see this also will be the case as regards Bali.

We may trust that the examples mentioned above have proved that also in the Indian archipelago the magical syllable Oṃ was used as a maṅgala in its inscriptions. Certainly this will be no news to epigraphists of profession but it might be of value to group the different varieties together. This labour is required when we want to show that also Hindu Javanese and Balinese art made an ample use of said symbols.

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35) *O.V.* 1912, p. 46; Inventaris nr. 39a

36) *O.V.* 1912, p 51; Inventaris nr. 23. Photo O.D. no. 1639, 1640; KERN, *V.G.* VI, p. 267 etc.

37) *O.V.* 1912, p. 41; Inventaris nr. 20.

38) KERN, *V.G.* VII, p. 215. Also Kern read the first syllable as Oṃ.

39) *O.V.* 1912, p. 46; Inventaris nr. 39b. Photo O.D. nr. 1646. KROM, *H.J.G.*, p. 414.

The Magical Syllable Oṃ in the Art of Central and Eastern Java

It is a happy circumstance that the finger rings from the Hindu-Javanese period may be considered a link between the epigraphical records and the actual products of art of that period. We avail ourselves of that opportunity to show that at least the shape of our maṅgala Oṃ was used in the art of Central and Eastern Java. This is possible only thanks to the monograph on the subject of those golden finger rings by Professor Bosch of Leyden. Many of those rings show an engraved figure which finds its origin in the design of the syllable *çrī* as known in the old Javanese manuscripts [40]). It is a well known fact that the syllable *çrī* used in this sense, means an auspicious symbol that protects its bearer from evil. On close inspection however it becomes clear that several of these rings also show unmistakeably an Oṃ symbol placed above the syllable *çrī*, just as we have encountered it on the flame uṣṇīṣa of Buddhist images from Further India, i.e. in fig. I b, d, II b, VI c, VII d, VIII a, b [41]). One of these specimens from Professor Bosch's study is reproduced in plate c. Also on both sides of the elephant hooks or aṅkuśa of ring XII a and b we notice the same Oṃ symbols. Therefore they should not be taken for mere playful curls without meaning; on the contrary, their presence is required to strengthen the magical power of the rings. The central figure here is represented by the auspicious *çrī*. Reluctantly we proceed to those rings where the nāgarī script is said to be used. Their surfaces are formed by nailhead type of character as known in India; they consist of triangles whether or not with dots placed in them. Below these, verticle lines are engraved and between those lines several varieties of small curls are placed that look like question marks in ordinary position (see fig. XIII b, XIV a and B of the study mentioned).

These characters cannot be deciphered and even Brandes was led astray, whilst Professor Bosch recognizes in them a derivation of the *çrī*-syllable [42]). Based on our preceding investigations we are of opinion, however, that with more certainty we can accept those curls as representations of the maṅgala Oṃ, especially when ring XIII b is taken into consideration, where the familiar Oṃ sign is shown together with the drawn curls of the question mark type in unreversed position (plate d). When the reader has no objections against the above conclusion, we dare to take one step further by assuming to recognize on the backside of the stone image of Blitar (Eastern Java), a huge variety of that question mark. We use the word reluctantly in this respect because we are aware of being in conflict with men of international fame like Brandes and Bosch, as both Orientalists declare to recognize the pattern of this stone to be a variety of the *çrī*-emblem. This is true with the exception of the large stylised curls—the main feature of the figure—which in our opinion represents the auspicious maṅgala Oṃ. Nevertheless we have to admit that also in the

40) Bosch, *Gouden ringen uit het Hindoe-Javaansche tijdperk, Djåwå*, VII, 1927, p. 305 etc. We follow here the usual transcription of the Old-Javanese language.

41) It seems to us that ring XII is to be reversed.

42) *Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madoera, (R.O.C.)*, 1903, p. 18, pl. 30, fig. 6; Bosch; *op. cit.*, p. 314, pl. B.

Indian archipelago we find the Oṃ symbol of type e of fig. II as a rule in the position of the inverted question mark. Exceptions to this rule as seen in those rings of the nāgarī type and the stone of Blitar may occur.

We are again on firm ground when we inspect the ceremonial bell or ganṭhā with the upper part formed by a vajra with four points from London's collection of Hindu-Javanese bronzes [43]). On the facing points of the vajra we recognize at once the familiar Oṃ symbol, represented by the type of the inverted question mark of type e, fig. B. On the island of Bali where the ganṭhā is the principal attribute in the intricate ritual of the priests the invocational mantra of the ganṭhā is Oṃkāra Sadāçiwa [44]).

A new chapter in the history of the magical Oṃ begins when we discuss—we admit not quite systematically—the famous posthumous statue (abt. 1309) of Kṛtarājasa, ruler of Eastern-Java, an early specimen of the period of art of Majapahit. Judging from the iconographical side, some scholars recognize Siwa with Vaiṣṇava features, others Viṣṇu with Śaiva features, or Harihara in which both Lords are combined; Śiva being hara and Viṣṇu stands for hari. This statue found at Simping and which is now in the museum in Batavia, combines the attributes of both gods and it carries in the first right hand and second left hand respectively the rosary and a threefold flame-symbol that resembles the triśūla. They are both specific emblems of Śiva. In the first left hand and second right hand is carried the club and the conch shell of Viṣṇu, the latter attribute with the snail, which according to Moens represents the symbol of deliverance, very characteristic of posthumous statues of delivered mortal beings. Our attention is concentrated on the emblem that is carried by this god in the second left hand i.e. the threefold flame-symbol that resembles the triśūla, in which we recognize very clearly three Oṃ symbols of type e of fig. II viz. the inverted question mark with spiral tail. With our knowledge of this symbol acquired, we must object to the mere acceptance of a simple flame emblem without deeper symbolical sense. We admit that the question mark with spiral tail resembles ordinary flames like those from incense burners as pictured on the reliefs of Bârâbuḍur, but still there is a difference in shape and this contains a fundamental difference from ordinary flames. We are indebted to Professor Vogel for his penetrating study on *tejas* in the sense of magical power, that gives us the solution for these curious flame symbols used in various circumstances where ordinary flames would be quite out of place [45]). The author proves that the occurrance of flames emanating from the shoulders or in general round the figure of statues of kings and the Buddha as shown a.o. in specimens from Graeco-Buddhist art represents nothing but their magical power, in sanskrit literature known as *tejas*. As a rule this magical power is reproduced as ordinary flames. Under these circumstances we feel entitled to recognize in those curious small flames issuing from the halo behind

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43) Cf. STUTTERHEIM, *Cultuurgeschiedenis van Java in beeld*, (1926), fig. 55.

44) GORIS, *Bijdrage tot de kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche theologie*, 1926, p. 13.

45) VOGEL, *Het Sanskrit woord tejas (= gloed, vuur) in de beteekenis van magische kracht*, *Med. Kon. Ak. v. Wetensch;* Afd. Letterkunde, dl 70, Series B, no. 4; 1930.

Buddhistic statues of the Hindu-Javanese period also a representation of that magical tejas. The same curious flames are found also on the back slabs of stone statues from Eastern Java. The remarkable feature of these flames is the fact that in almost all cases they are not pictured as ordinary flames but in the shape of the figure of the magical symbol Oṃ of the type of the inverted question mark with spiral tail. Therefore it stands to reason that we must look for some connection between the conception of tejas as magical power or energy and the syllable Oṃ. And there is a connection available in the old literature of India which conception has found its way through many ages to Java. Going all the way back to the Maitrāyaṇa-upaniṣad of the Yajurveda we think we have found the answer in the seventh prapāṭhaka (11) where is said: "This, verily is the intrinsic-form (Svarūpa) of the firmament (nabha) in the vacance of the innerman (antarbhūtasya khe) that is the Supreme Fiery-Energy (tejas), determined (abhihita) as the trinity (tredhā) of Fire, Supernal-Sun and Spirit. The intrinsic-aspect of space (nabha-akāśa) in the vacance of the inner man (antarbhūtasya khe) is indeed the Imperishable-Word Oṃ" [46]).

As we have seen before, the trinity mentioned here stands for agni, sūrya and prāṇa that is likewise Oṃ. Deussen's translation (p. 369) adds that this unlimited power (tejas) shall be honoured by the sound Oṃ. The equation of tejas and Oṃ seems acquired and we may understand now why the supernal energy of gods or of deified kings as in Eastern Java, is represented by the Oṃ symbol of special flame design. The tejas or fiery energy emanating from Kṛtarājasa has been very well represented by the threefold flame like emblem, each of which symbolizing at the same time Oṃ and therefore the whole universe. It was a very deep thought to have the equation tejas = Oṃ designed as a flame of special design and equal to our auspicious maṅgala. It stands to reason that the flaming Oṃ symbol on the uṣṇīṣa of the Buddha in Siam represents in the first place the magical power or tejas of the Lord Sākyamuni, exactly as pointed out by Professor Vogel with regard to the Graeco-Buddhist art.

If we now direct our attention to the panel reliefs of the temples or caṇḍis Jago and Panataran of Eastern Java, we encounter a new and puzzling aspect of the Oṃ problem. On close inspection of the figures on several of these reliefs it appears that the sculptor made ample use and as it seems in various instances without special purpose, of large Oṃ symbols of type e of fig. II [47]). But they are not auspicious emblems in the first place and following up Professor Vogel's explanation of the tejas represented by flames we do now understand Stutterheim, who in an earlier study has recognized in those magical flames a representation of that extraordinary magical power or *sĕkti* (śakti) that has the same meaning as the powerful tejas. It is exactly the same issue that Professor Vogel developed with regard to India. We have only to add that those sculptors availed themselves of the shape of the maṅgala Oṃ of the type of the inverted question mark with

46) COOMARASWAMY, *A new approach to the Vedas*, 1933, p. 50; Cf. DEUSSEN, *Sechzig Upanishads des Veda*, 1938, p. 368.

47) STUTTERHEIM, *Cultuurgeschiedenis van Java in Beeld*, 1926, fig. 124; Caṇḍi Soerawana. We see here Siva surrounded by magic flames emerging from him during the battle.

spiral tail and that it represents the presence of the magical sĕkti which has the same power as the Old-Indian tejas, the supernatural power or fiery energy. In his *Rāma Legenden* Stutterheim already compared the Sĕkti-flames with the Siamese "ulalom", though without explanation.

It is a typical feature of the Indonesian art of Eastern-Java to place the magical symbol next to gods or mortal beings in order to express the presence of their magical power or sĕkti and though this power, as we saw, is well known in India, we shall not find a representation as shown in Eastern-Java, on the reliefs of holy monuments in the mother country.

To quote an example: a photograph No. 35 from Brandes' monograph on Caṇḍi Jago we see one of the first episodes of that Buddhistic story called Kuñjarakarṇa, recognized as such by Van Stein Callenfels.

On this relief we see the Yakṣa Kuñjarakarṇa visiting the Supreme Being Vairocana—not pictured as a Dhyāni-Buddha—and who instructs this Yakṣa to pay a visit to the hell in the first place, before he will reveal the true Law [48]). Round the persons of this relief at least eight sĕkti-symbols—as we shall call them here—have been placed; they all seem to represent the magical power that is emanating from them. On other reliefs of the same temple we notice the same appearance; mystical symbols round the principal characters. Of bolder shape are these symbols seen on the reliefs of caṇḍi Panataran of 1323 A.D., of which our plate e shows a clear example. Here we see an episode from the Old-Javanese version of the Rāmāyaṇa of which Brandes says: "Now that was done what he wished that should be done, Hanuman with a war-cry breaks the serpent into pieces and greatly to the alarm of the Rakṣasa that has caught him. Flames are flaring up. All this gives no. 49." [49]) Indeed, we see the tail of the very popular leader of the army of apes afire. The bold figures above the head of Hanumān are magical Oṃ symbols representing his sĕkti or tejas that protects him and allows his acts of miracle. From the story we know with certainty that on plate 13 photograph 52 of Brandes' "Woltentooneelen" are pictured real flames; it is the episode that Hanumān with his flaming tail sets the roof of Rāvaṇa's palace ablaze. These flames, where amongst others the (Oṃ) curl is lacking, show a distinct difference from the sĕkti-symbol of the Oṃ type and we should not forget this has certainly been the intention of the sculptor.

Furthermore, we have to draw attention to the metal *kĕntongans* or *tong-tongs* where we find in various cases large curls placed on both sides of the slotted opening, in which curls some people recognized stylised eyes, but which much more show a likeness with Oṃ symbols of the simple curl design [50]). Also the ornamental border in many cases is composed of Oṃ symbols that seem flattened out. Even Javanese krisses show representations of the Oṃ symbol and that is not surprising in view of the magic character of these weapons [51]).

48) KROM, *Inleiding H.J.K.* II, p. 116.

49) BRANDES, *Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari en de Wolkentooneelen van Panataran*, 1909, p. 24.

50) *O.V.* 1929, pl. 35a. 51) Cf. *Nederlandsch-Indië, Oud- en Nieuw*, 1917, nr. 12, p. 547.

The Magic Syllable Oṃ in Bali

In Weck's penetrating study on magical practices still performed by the inhabitants of Bali (East of Java), we find very interesting material on the use of the magic syllable Oṃ in the chapter "Die magischen Schriftzeichen" [52]).

For the Balinese, just as for all Asiatic people, the written language contains a meaning, which is far more important than the actual significance of that language. Written characters are magic symbols.
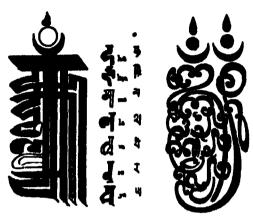
Figure V.

Still greater power than the written characters or symbols is contained in a symbolic monogram. A well known example is the magic dasabayu as seen in fig. V, and which is undoubtedly close akin to the Tibetan monogram of "the all powerful ten", as seen on the left side of the figure. Dasabayu has the same meaning as "powerful ten".

Above this Balinese monogram we recognize again the crescent moon or ardhacandra and above this the sun and the flame, in this case designed as a cone. This threefold symbol is called ulucandra by the Balinese pedanda, who, at the same time, sees it as the akṣaras a + u + m, i.e. the magic syllable Oṃ, in Bali called Ong. The syllable Ong is called Ongkāra (Oṃ + Aksara). The three signs of the ulucandra constitute the tryakṣara—the three syllables—but also in accordance with the ancient Indian tradition of the upaniṣad, the lords Brahmā - Viṣṇu - Īśvara (Siva); moon, sun, fire etc.

The pedanda does not realize any more the connection of the ulucandra with the Indian and Tibetan equivalent Oṃ symbol; neither does he as a rule understand the significance of his magic mantras beginning with Aum or Ong [53]). When the pedanda makes a proper use of the dasabayu and ulucandra, illness can be stopped and healing obtained. The ardhacandra has his seat in the eyes, the vindu in the forehead and nāda on the top of the head. This is only one side of the magic powers of these symbols.

The striking resemblance of the dasabayu monogram with the Tibetan all powerful ten is of course not coincidental. This monogram is clearly of Indian origin and there is reason to believe that the direct source of influence was Bengal and it reached Bali possibly through Java, as we have found the Oṃ syllable also on that island.

And here, in Bali, we end our investigations into the migration of the magic syllable Oṃ which we have followed—not very thoroughly—through India and South East Asia.

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52) WECK, *Heilkunde und Volkstum auf Bali*, 1937, p. 67, etc.

53) DE KAT ANGELINO, *Mudra's op Bali*, 1922, p. 61.

THE BHĪMASTAVA

by

F. D. K. BOSCH

Leyden

It is a well known fact that several conceptions of purely Indian origin underwent a remarkable evolution and extension after having been introduced on Hindu-Javanese soil. A clear instance of this is the personality of the second of the Pāṇḍava brothers, Bhīma. While in the Indian epic tradition his rôle is confined to that of being the strongest of men, the intrepid hero and valorous warrior, in Java another side of his character becomes manifest.

So in the very popular old-Javanese legend of Devaruci [1]) Bhīma is sent on an errand to find the water of immortality and, after many adventures, arrives at an uninhabited island where by a dwarf, who is no other than Brahman, he is initiated in the highest wisdom.

A reflection of the same representation is met with in the *rĕrĕnggan* of the wayang [2]). Here Bhīma, besides being extolled as the superhumanly strong and valiant hero, is represented as the omniscient scholar and guru, the possessor of supernatural mystical knowledge, though he has never read any books.

Lastly, as Stutterheim has pointed out [3]), there was in Java and Bali, in the afterdays of the Majapahit empire, a regular cult of Bhīma, as appears from the statues of that hero set up on various mountain tops and slopes.

It is with regard to this metaphysical side of Bhīma's character that I wish to draw the attention to a Sanskrit document of Balinese origin, known by the name of Bhīmastava. It belongs to the large group of stotras (or stavas or stutis) of which M. Sylvain Lévi, in his

1) See POERBATJARAKA, *Dewa-roetji*, *Djåwå* XX, 1940, p. 7-55, and the literature quoted there.—Of this legend no Indian original has been traced so far.

2) GORIS, *Storm-kind en Geesteszoon* (Child of the Storm and son of the Spirit), *Djåwå* VII, 1927, p. 110-113.—*Rĕrĕnggan*, lit. "ornament", designs the recital of the leader of the puppetplay (*dalang*) embellishing and elucidating certain parts of the performance, and containing i.a. the description of the heroes of the play when entering the scene.

3) *Een oud-Javaansche Bhīma-cultus*, *Djåwå* XV, 1935, p. 37-64.

valuable edition of Sanskrit Texts from Bali [4]), published a number of twenty-three, collected by him during his visit to that island in 1928. These stotras preserved in Bali are not detached pieces of secular poetry; they are regular parts of the ritual and are still recited by the priests (*pedaṇḍa*), during offerings and festivals, in honour of the Hindu or Buddhist pantheon, though, owing to their total ignorance of the Sanskrit language, they do not understand one word of what they write, read and chant [5]). As to the origin of this poetry, it is curious to note that M. Sylvain Lévi, in spite of his extensive knowledge of Sanskrit ritual literature, in a few detached cases only was able to trace the Indian originals of it.

For the restoration of the very corrupt text following below I made use of the version of it in the above-mentioned edition, and of five palmleaf manuscripts, one from Karang Asem, Bali, three in the collection of the University Library, Leyden, and one in that of the Batavian Society. In the main I followed the Karang Asem-manuscript as this represents the best— or rather least corrupt—reading [6]).

Çrīvajrasattva sattvārtha sattveṣu karuṇātmaka /
ekātmanāryabhīmena jagadmaitri namo 'stu te // (1)

huṃkārasambhavastava bhīmadhīra mahābala /
vajrakāya mahopāya prāṇipreman namo 'stu te // (2)

sarvalaghupavitrāṅga maṅgiṣṭiratnakuṇḍala /
ketakīpuṣpitaçrotra āryabhīma namo 'stu te // (3)

sthūlayaço guṇottuṅga sthūladīrghavapustira /
sthūlaparākrama svayyat bhīmaçakte namo 'stu te // (4)

çurāntare dviṣām saṅghe raṇe çatrubhayaṃkara /
gadāstreṇa ripubhaṅga bhīmaçūra namo 'stu te // (5)

sākṣātsahodarakranta girīndranāthajāgraja /
kalidvāparasambhūta āryabhīma namo 'stu te // (6)

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4) *Gaekwad's Oriental Series* Vol. LXVII, 1933.

5) Sylvain Lévi, *o.c.*, p. IX-X.

6) The Karang Asem-MS (*A*) is the same from which I published the *Nāgabāyusūtra*-tract on the Dhyānibuddhas (*Mededeelingen Kon. Ak. v. Wetensch.*, Afd. Letterk. 68 B, 1929). For the mss. in the University Library, Leyden, see Juynboll, *Supplement Catalogus* II, p. 370, 373 and 383. Except for differences in the spelling they represent the same version (B), the Batavian MS (C) being independent of these.—Since the Balinese "in reading as well as in writing Sanskrit, make no difference between short and long vowels, between sibilants, between aspirates and non-aspirates, between dentals and cerebrals, and they are accustomed to divide words, or rather groups of syllabes, in their traditional way, with no respect to meaning" (Sylvain Lévi, *o.c.*, p. XXXV), it is rather useless to mark all the misspellings and misunderstandings in the texts, and, therefore, only the most important variae lectiones are noted.

praçastajagatām trātaḥ atyantabhayadānaka /
vigrahoṣṇambahupatto bhīmādhikaraṇa namaḥ // (7)

anāryaduṣṭamukheṣu jagatām arihiṃsaka /
satkarmasādhususneya jagatpāla namo 'stu te // (8)

prasiddha bhagavan bhīma me rakṣa bhayato gatam /
prayojanam idam sidhyāt madbhrātaḥ hi namo 'stu te // (9)

2*a*: huṃkārasamavastava L (= ms. Sylvain Lévi), °sambhavastayya B, °stāryya C; *b*: bhidira mahābala L; *d*: praṇipre namo 'stu te L, pranipwema BC.

3 *a*: °lahyupavitaṅga A; °ratnaguṇṇala A, °guṇḍala BC; *c*: ketakīpuṣpanahçroteḥ L, °vuspinaçrote A, °puṣpitaçrote BC.

4 *a*: sthūlāya guṇottuṅgāya L; *b*: dīrghabhapustira A, °rapuṣṭika BC; *c*: sthūlavarakarmeçvāya L, sthūlaprarākarınma A, °paraçrame B, saryyat C.

5 *a*: çūradara dviṣām saṅge L, çuradara dvisĕm saṅge A, çurāntaradvisyam sārṅghyeB, °dvistam saṅgye C; *b*: nareçatru° BC; *c*: ripudṛṅgā A, °risudala BC.

6 *a*: sahodarakraṭṭa L, °krata A, sahuçūrakyāhyā BC; *b*: giridevatājagrāya L, giridenātajagrajā A, girindrenamajabraja BC.

7 *a*: praçaste L; *b*: kalyāṇabhayadānaka L, kalyatabhayadāṇṇata A, atyatabhaya° BC; *c*: alle mss. corr.; *d*: bhīma bhikṣaṇe namaḥ L, bhīmādhikarāketaṭamam BC.

8 *a*: anayaduṣṭamukhe tu L, anāryaduṣṭamukhetu A, abāryaduṣṭamakeçu BC; *b*: jagattama paripakā L, jagatām arihiṅkapa A, arahiçanā BC; *c*: satakarmadūsnaya L, °cadhususneha B, °cadusumbheya C, tatpaha L.

9 *a*: prasīda L; *b*: merakghaba yathāgata L; °gato A, rākṣya ... gate BC; c: prayojñaṇṇani me siddhyā A; *d*: mādbatre namo 'stu te L, madbhātrehi A, padmatrehi BC.

Though, unfortunately, a great part of the text remains uncertain, it is evident that Bhīma is glorified in it as the hero (*çūra*) of extraordinary strength (*mahābala*), of great prowess (*parākrama*), and of a sturdy (*sthūla*) appearance, the destroyer and terrifier of his foes (*ripubhaṅga, çatrubhayaṃkara*), armed with his club (*gadāstra*), his ears being adorned with the *ketakī*-flower [7]) (*ketakīpuṣpitaçrotra*).

However, besides these denominations that do not expand our knowledge of the Bhīma-character as it is depicted in the great epic, the *stava* contains a number of epithets in evidence of what we have called the metaphysical side of his personality. The most important of these occur in the first stanza, which, fortunately, in all the manuscripts is preserved in a fairly good state Here it is said: "Çrī Vajrasattva, whose aim is the well-being of creatures, who takes compassion on creatures, who is one in soul with Ārya Bhīma and who is the friend of the (whole) world, to thou be adoration".

The first question arising here is: who is this Vajrasattva, with whom Bhīma is clearly identified?

Since in the Karang Asem-manuscript the Bhīmastava immediately follows after the text of the Nāgabāyusūtra, in which the five Dhyānibuddhas are enumerated, each with

7) Jav. *poeḍak*. Cf. KATS, *Het Javaansche Tooneel*, 1923, p. 10 and GORIS, *l.c.*, p. 111.

his special *jñāna*, colour, *mudrā*, *vāhana*, heavenly abode, *krodha*-manifestation, mystical syllabe and *parivāradevatas*, there can be little doubt that the Vajrasattva, mentioned in the first stanza of our text, is the same deity who, as is well-known, was superimposed by several tantric sects on the existing set of five Dhyānibuddhas.

If this be true, we are prone to ask what conception may be underlying the identifcation of so disparate a pair as the second of the Pāṇḍava brothers and the top figure of the Dhyānibuddha system.

Though, generally speaking, questions of this kind are very difficult to answer, in consequence of the impossibility to decide whether the similarities between two mythical personalities are at the bottom of an identification, or that, inversely, the identification was the cause of the said similarities, in this special case we may be able to trace the association which linked the hero and the Buddha.

If we bear in mind that Bhīma, according to the epic, was the son of Vāyu, the Windgod, it seems highly probable that in Java, in an early period, Bhīma was compared and associated with Indra, the god with whom he had several qualities in common—his strength, his valour and impetuousness—, and who, like him, was closely connected with Vāyu, his name being regularly substituted for that of the latter deity in the well-known triad Agni-Vāyu-(Indra)-Sūrya.

Next to this there is another important feature of Indra found again with Bhīma: Indra, above all, is famous as the wielder of the thunderbolt, *vajra*, and one of his current names in this quality is Vajradhara [8]). Now, in the wayang, Bhīma is the only hero that is equipped with a special weapon consisting of the long nail of his thumb surrounded by the nails of the other fingers. It is the so-called *pañcanakha* which shows a close resemblance to the five-clawed vajra of Indra and marks its bearer as a Vajradhara as well.

Taking the above facts into account, we may assume that the identification of Bhīma with Vajrasattva was effected by the medium of Indra. By his association with this god and as bearer of the *pañcanakha* Bhīma became *vajradhara*, and from *vajradhara* to Vajradhara, and hence to the *alter ego* of this Buddha, Vajrasattva, there was only one step more to take.

We do not wish to discuss in detail the spiritual evolution of the Bhīma character that ensued from his being identified with the topfigure of the Dhyānibuddha-system [9]). In this connection, however, it is important to note that, in the old Javanese catechism Sang Hyang Kamahāyānan Mantrānaya, Vajrasattva is said to be the supreme guru and initiator

8) Inversely, in Buddhist sources the sixth Dhyānibuddha Vajradhara is called a metamorphosis of Indra (WADDELL, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 352).

9) This evolution has its parallel in, and is, perhaps, influenced by the evolution of Bhīma, the son of the Wind, to Bhīma, the son of the Spirit. As GORIS in his elucidating paper on Bhima has pointed out (*Djåwå*, 1927), the twofold nature of the hero—that of being the strongest and the wisest of men—, originated in his being the son of Vāyu, the Windgod. The impetuous side of his character, his strength and valour, are clearly derivable from this sonship. On the other hand, the metaphysical meaning of the Vāyu-conception and its close association with *prāṇa* and *ātman*, are very likely to have given rise to speculations on the identity of Son of the Wind and Son of the Spirit.

in the highest wisdom (*vajrajñāna*) [10]) and that these are the same qualities which, as we have said, are attributed, in the Devaruci-legend and in the wayang, to Bhīma. In our text, on the other hand, not so much stress is laid on this side of the character of Bhīma as on his bodhisattva virtues as appears from the epithets *prāṇipreman* 'lover of creatures', *jagatām trātṛ* 'protector of the worlds' and *satkarmasādhususneya* 'lover of the well doing and righteous (people)'.

After having briefly reviewed the motives that may have led to the identification of Bhīma with Vajrasattva, I wish to draw the attention to a remarkable fact which may not only shed fresh light on this identity, but also seems to settle a long disputed and not yet satisfactorily answered question of archaeological interest.

It is hardly necessary to repeat here that the Barabuḍur monument contains six sets of Buddha images which are differentiated from each other by their *mudrās*. Four of these show the well-known *mudrās* of the Dhyānibuddhas of the quarters and have their place in the niches over the three lowest quadrangular galleries on the four sides of the monument, while all the images over the fourth gallery exhibit the same *vitarkamudrā*. Finally, the sixth set of Buddhas, sitting in the 72 stūpa-like little monuments on the three highest circular platforms also show the same *mudra*, this being the so-called *dharmacakramudrā*.

As to the identity of the five sets of Buddhas in the niches most students agree that they represent the five types of Dhyānibuddhas, but on the meaning of the Buddhas in the stūpas opinions widely differ.

According to Mr IJzerman [11]) they represent the Dhyānibuddha Vairocana, but M. Foucher [12]) looked upon them as images of the historical Buddha Çākyamuni, whereas Prof. Krom [13]), after pointing out the weak points in the argumentation of his predecessors, pronounced as his view that they represent the sixth Dhyānibuddha Vajrasattva, who by the followers of the Yogācārya school, to which the builders of Barabuḍur belonged, was superimposed on the existing set of five. This theory, however, was in its turn attacked by Dr Stutterheim [14]), who, taking the old Javanese catechism Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan as his guide, identified the sixth set of Buddha-images with Bhaṭāra Divarūpa, the unmanifested essence of Buddhadood which, according to the said catechism, occupies the highest place in the system. Finally, M. Mus [15]) discussed the same problem and, though differing on

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10) KATS, *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan*, 1910, p. 21 and WULFF, *Sang hyang Kamahāyānan Mantrānaya*, 1935, p. 21 sq. — Cf. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux*. p. 213: „Le maître qui donne l'upadeça et l'abhiṣeka ... est le substitut ... de Vajrasattva". This 'master' is still well-known in Bali as the *pedaṇḍa Buddha*, who, when acting as a priest and when being equipped with the *vajra* in his right and the *ghaṇṭā* in his left hand, becomes the embodiment of Vajrasattva himself.

11) *Verslagen en Mededeelingen Kon. Ak. v. Wetensch.*, Afd. Letterk., 1887, p. 209-211.

12) *BEFEO* IX, 1909, p. 44 sq.

13) *Beschrijving van Barabuḍur* I, 1920, p. 636 sqq.

14) *Tjaṇḍi Bara-Boeḍoer, Naam, Vorm, Beteekenis* 1929. p. 49 sq.

15) *Barabuḍur, BEFEO* XXXII, 1932, p. 338 sq., 347 sq. (reprint p. 70 sq., 79 sq.).

several points with Dr Stutterheim, is inclined to agree with him as to the meaning of the said set of Buddha-images.

Our conclusion must be that after sixty years of discussion the identity of the said images still remains an open question.

Under these circumstances the Bhīmastava seems to contain a piece of information that may settle the question in favour of the solution proposed by Prof. Krom.

In order to prove this it is necessary to refer to a story occuring in a fragment of a Javanese chronicle, published by Poensen [16]), and pertaining to the adventures of the Javanese crown-prince, who died in the year 1758. In this story it is said that the prince, after a dissipated life, went to the Barabuḍur to visit the thousand statues of that sanctuary, especially the statue of 'the ksatriya in a cage', after which fatal visit he soon fell ill and died.

As Brandes, in his discussion of this remarkable passage, pointed out [17]), it is highly probable that the statue of the 'ksatriya in the cage', visited by the prince, is the same Buddha statue that is sitting in the partly demolished stūpa, situated on the lower of the three circular platforms, on the southern corner of the eastern staircase, and that is in the present time still worshipped by flocks of indigenous, Chinese and Eurasian people, because of the power of granting wishes attributed to it. The essential point here is that the name of that statue is *sang* or *kaki* (grandfather) *Bima* [18]).

Now it is perfectly clear that the reason why it was named so was not that there existed any kind of resemblance between the Buddha image and the representation of Bima in the wayang-puppetplay. A greater contrast than between these two is hardly conceivable indeed: the first sitting in yoga-attitude, clad in a plain monk's habit, without any ornaments, his eye-lids half closed in meditation, the other standing upright, in princely attire, armed with his *pañcanakha*, his large eyes protruding from their sockets.

This contrast makes it very unlikely that the name of Bima was given to the image after the disappearance of Hinduism from Java, in the times when that name could only evoke the well-known representation adhering to the Bima of the wayang. The name, therefore, must be of an older date; it must hail from the Hindu-Javanese period, when the Barabuḍur sanctuary was still in use and when the Buddhist believers where still aware of the fact that there was a higher set of Dhyānibuddhas called Vajrasattva, and that the other name of that Vajrasattva was Bhīma.

If this be true, as the first stanze of the Bhīmastava is very likely to show, it is not improbable that the magic powers which, from the eighteenth century up till now, were attributed to the 'ksatriya in the cage' retain a faint remembrance of the times when that image was known by the name of Vajrasattva and was worshipped as the highest guru and great initiator in the esoteric doctrine of Buddhism.

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16) POENSEN, *Mangkubumi, Ngajogyakarta's eerste Sultan, BKI* 1901, p. 287.

17) *Twee oude berichten over Baraboedoer, TBG* 44, 1901, p. 73-80.

18) WILSEN, *Boro Boedoer, TBG* 1, 1853, p. 285.

L'IMPORTANCE DE LA DISYLLABIE EN JAVANAIS

par

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Dans les articles et dans les livres traitant de la grammaire javanaise on a souvent remarqué la structure disyllabique de cette langue. Le mot, en Javanais, est une unité phonétique clairement délimitée, réalisée, par les sujets parlants, en mettant des séparations distinctes entre les mots de la phrase. A l'unité phonétique du mot correspond en morphologie une tendance à une forme spéciale des mots, qui sont en grande majorité disyllabiques. L'emploi d'un nombre de préfixes, de suffixes et en outre de quelques infixes ne nuit pas à la structure disyllabique, car ces morphèmes sont bien sentis comme tels et ne font qu'accentuer encore davantage la forme de la base [1]).

Néanmoins, à chaque page de Javanais on trouve un nombre nullement négligeable de mots, dont la base n'est pas disyllabique, mais consiste d'une ou de plus de deux syllabes. En outre, si on remonte quelques siècles et qu'on jette un coup d'oeil sur la littérature javanaise ancienne, on devra constater, qu'en Vieux-Javanais il y avait aussi un nombre nullement négligeable de bases qui ne correspondait pas à la norme de la disyllabie. En Javanais moderne, comme en Vieux-Javanais, on en trouve relativement peu, mais dans les deux cas les chiffres sont encore trop hauts pour amener des conclusions sûres sur la disyllabie. Sa vraie importance n'apparaît que par un examen qui aurait pour but de montrer qu'à chaque période du Javanais les mots non-disyllabiques occupent une position à part dans le vocabulaire, en tant qu'ils sont sujets à de fortes tendances à relever leur position exceptionelle.

Le problème sera considéré en trois parties. Dans la première nous montrerons, en les comparant à d'autres langues indonésiennes, que les monosyllabes du Vieux-Javanais sont sortis d'anciennes bases disyllabiques; puis nous considérerons comment ils se sont développés en de nouvelles bases disyllabiques; enfin, dans la troisième partie nous verrons l'intérêt de la structure disyllabique pour des changements phonétiques qui se sont effectués pendant l'histoire de la langue.

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1) Sous „base" on entendra ici le mot dépourvu de morphèmes — ce que des javanologues néerlandais expriment par le terme „grondwoord".

I.

Dans le vocabulaire du Vieux-Javanais on trouve un nombre relativement petit de mots monosyllabiques, mais parmi eux il y a quelques mots très usuels. Comme il n'est pas possible d'en donner ici une liste complète, on se limitera à un nombre d'exemples, dont l'étymologie est hors de doute. La plupart de ces monosyllabes est le résultat de la perte d'une consonne intervocale, qui est gardée dans d'autres langues indonésiennes, mais perdue en javanais. Après la chute de cette consonne les deux voyelles consécutives se sont contractées.

a) V.-J. bot, „lourd", de *bĕʿat, cf. mal. bĕrat et jav. wĕrat;
b) V.-J. wos, „riz", de *wĕʿas, cf. mal. bĕras;
c) V.-J. dom, „aiguille", de *djaʿum, cf. mal. et sund. djarum;
d) V.-J. wwang, „homme", de *uʿang, cf. mal. orang;
e) V.-J. tūt, „suivre", de *tuʿut, cf. mal. et jav. turut;
f) V.-J. wèh, „donner", de *wĕʿi(h), cf. mal. bĕri;
g) V.-J. king, „sec", de *kĕʿing, cf. mal. et jav. kĕring;
h) V.-J. rāt, „monde", de *d/raʿat, cf. mal. darat;
i) V.-J. rāh, „sang", de *d/raʿah, cf. mal. darah;
j) V.-J. doh, „loin", de *djauh, cf. mal. djauh;
k) V.-J. ron, „feuille", de *d/raun, cf. mal daun;
l) V.-J. ro(ng), „deux", de *d/rua, cf. mal. dua;
m) V.-J. woh, „fruit", de *wuah, cf. mal. buah;
n) V.-J. dol, „vendre", de *djual, cf. mal. djual;
o) V.-J. rong, „trou", de *ruang, cf. mal. ruang.

Cette liste n'exige guère de commentaire. Vue notre connaissance de la linguistique comparée des langues indonésiennes, les formes reconstruites du proto-indonésien, indiquées par un *, sont loin d'être certaines. Là, où à une partie des langues présentes se trouvent des *r*, tandis que d'autres ont à la même position des *d*, il serait impossible de dire à présent, lequel des deux a été le phonème d'origine; la même considération s'applique pour la correspondance des *d* et des *dj*. La consonne représentée dans la liste par le *spiritus asper* peut avoir été un spirant vélaire; en tout cas — c'est à peu près tout ce qu'on peut dire de certain — cela doit avoir été un phonème distinct, qui en Malais s'est développé en *r*, tandis qu'en Javanais il a disparu (probablement par l'intermédiaire de *h*).

Mais, si incertaines que soient ces formes quant à l'articulation exacte de leurs phonèmes, elles prouvent, que tous ces mots monosyllabiques de l'ancien Javanais remontent à des formes préhistoriques, qui ont été disyllabiques. Parfois on trouve en Javanais aussi des formes qui ont conservé une consonne à la place de l'ancien ʿ. On suppose qu'il s'agit dans ces cas-là (nos exemples a, e, et g) de formes d'origine dialectale, incorporées plus tard dans le Javanais commun; peut-être aussi que ce sont des emprunts du Malais ou d'une autre langue dans laquelle le ʿ s'est changé en r.

La théorie selon laquelle le groupe entier des langues Malayo-Polynésiennes ferait partie d'un groupe encore beaucoup plus étendu qui embrasserait aussi le Thai-Chinois, est encore mal fondée. D'ailleurs, si elle est prouvée, cela ne voudra pas dire, que les langues indonésiennes ont été à l'origine monosyllabiques, car il semble aussi possible que le Thai-Chinois ait jadis été disyllabique. Et si des recherches futures prouvent qu'en vérité les langues Indonésiennes remontent à un type monosyllabique, l'époque, pour laquelle une telle structure doit être recherchée, devrait être supposée bien des milliers d'années avant l'unité indonésienne et se trouverait donc complètement en dehors de la recherche présente [2]).

II

Après avoir jeté un coup d'oeil sur la préhistoire des mots monosyllabiques en Vieux-Javanais nous continuerons l'étude de leur développement pendant la période historique du Javanais.

Les bases monosyllabiques occupent déjà dans la vieille langue une place particulière. La brièveté de ces bases, comparée à la grande masse de bases disyllabiques, a été compensée par une prononciation longue de la voyelle, que nous trouvons représentée dans l'écriture. Bien que souvent l'écriture des voyelles longues soit plus ou moins arbitraire — de fausses étymologies et les besoins du mètre y ont joué un grand rôle et les mêmes mots sont tantôt écrits avec de courtes, tantôt avec de longues voyelles — elle est néanmoins bien régulière à l'égard des voyelles longues dans les bases monosyllabiques. Dans cet allongement nous voyons une tendance à adapter à la grande majorité des bases disyllabiques le petit nombre de celles, qui par leur forme avaient l'air d'être trop insignifiantes [3]).

Néanmoins, cet allongement n'était qu'un moyen provisoire pour relever les monosyllabes, car même allongés, ils n'étaient pas encore équivalents aux bases disyllabiques. D'autres moyens furent adoptés par la société parlante. Ce que nous voyons se passer en effet, c'est que la base, monosyllabe, doit peu à peu céder sa position de base à un ou à plusieurs de ses dérivés. Cette évolution se développe bien lentement et il est rare que la base monosyllabique d'origine disparaisse complètement de la langue. Elle est en général maintenue dans quelques tournures fixées par l'usage, dans la langue archaïque ou poétique, ou dans des parlers provinciaux. Mais, ce qui est le plus important au point de vue du linguiste, elle disparaît du langage de tous les jours.

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2) Voir surtout la plus récente discussion de cette question dans l'article de K. WULFF: „*Über das Verhältniss des Malayo-Polynesischen zum Indochinesischen*", Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskap, Hist.-fil. Medd. XXVII, 2, Copenhague 1942.

3) Je préfère cette explication à celle qu'on donne en général, qu'il s'agit d'un allongement pour compenser la chute de syllabe après la contraction. Car l'allongement n'est pas d'habitude dans des cas comme *katur*, issu de *kakatur*. D'ailleurs, dans la langue moderne encore on trouve le même allongement dans des monosyllabes, p.e. *mas*, „or". Bien que l'écriture ne distingue plus la longueur de voyelles, c'est toujours la longue, qu'on entend dans ces cas.

C'est l'idiome qui détermine, lequel des dérivés prendra la position de la base. Deux facteurs y exercent une grande influence. D'abord un dérivé sera choisi dont le sens ne diffère pas trop de la base d'origine. Puis, un dérivé relativement très fréquent aura en principe plus de chance de devenir le successeur qu'un dérivé qui est moins fixé dans la mémoire. Ce qui arrive en général, d'ailleurs, c'est qu'on voit plusieurs dérivés, qui ont pris la place de la base monosyllabique.

Avant de considérer les formes elles-mêmes nous donnerons un aperçu des moyens formels, qui ont été le plus employés pour former les nouvelles bases.

1) *Le préfixe a-* est d'un emploi très commun en Vieux-Javanais. Sa fonction consistait surtout en la formation d'adjectifs prédicatifs de substantifs [4]), mais peu est resté de cette fonction dans la langue actuelle. La corrélation de p.e. *bot*: *abot* en Vieux-Javanais comme substantif: adjectif prédicatif (ou pesanteur: pesant) n'existe plus comme telle dans le Javanais moderne. Le préfixe *a-* peut être employé maintenant, sans qu'il ait d'autre fonction que de rendre le langage plus élégant ou archaïque. Ainsi on peut employer *ananging*, „mais" au lieu de *nanging* sans le moindre changement de signification. Dans beaucoup de cas sa fonction est plutôt graphique, c'-à-d. les Javanais l'emploient en écrivant, afin d'éviter des combinaisons de plus d'une consonne au début des mots.

C'est surtout grâce à l'affaiblissement de signification, que ce préfixe a pu être employé pour former des bases disyllabiques sur d'anciennes bases monosyllabiques. Au point de vue historique il serait plus exact de dire, que ce n'est que la combinaison du préfixe avec la base monosyllabique qui a survécu, tandis que l'ancienne base est tombée en désuétude.

2) *Le préfixe pa-* est employé surtout pour former des *nomina actionis* ou des *nomina actoris* des bases qui ont une signification verbale. Dans certains cas, quand le dérivé par moyen de ce préfixe était relativement fréquent, c'est lui qui a pu occuper la place de l'ancienne base monosyllabique.

Aussi les dérivés par moyen du préfixe *pi-*, dont l'emploi est pareil, bien que moins fréquent que celui de *pa-*, ont dans quelques cas remplacé la base originale.

3) Les formes dérivées par moyen du préfixe *ka-* appartiennent au passif. Si elles sont parfois devenues de nouvelles bases malgré cette fonction, cela a été surtout grâce à l'emploi très fréquent de ces dérivés.

4) Les dérivés de la base, formés par moyen de réduplication, soit complète, soit partielle, prêtent des nuances sensibles à la signification. Mais, comme ces nuances sont bien délicates et souvent difficiles à saisir, aussi la base doublée remplacera parfois la base monosyllabique; mais dans ce cas il reste en général quelque chose de la nuance spéciale, exprimée par la réduplication. Il faut quand même remarquer, que cette réduplication est infiniment plus fréquente chez les bases monosyllabiques que chez les autres.

5) Reste encore un nombre d'éléments qui occasionnellement peuvent avoir une fonction pareille. Je pense ici surtout au préfixe *sa-*, au suffixe *-an* et aux suffixes possessifs.

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4) KERN, *Verspreide Geschriften* VIII, p. 201 sqq.

Ce qui suit donnera une idée de la façon dont les éléments mentionnés ci-dessus ont été employés pour former de nouvelles bases, qui remplaceront les anciennes. A la tête de chaque exemple nous mettrons le vieux mot monosyllabique et montrerons par quels moyens les nouvelles bases se sont développées.

a) V.-J. *wor*, „mêler" a été remplacé par les deux nouvelles bases:
   1) *awor* avec les dérivés *ngawori* et *ngaworaké*, „mêler",
   2) *wowor* avec les dérivés *diwowori*, „être mêlé", et *woworan*, „mélange".
b) V.-J. *doh*, „loin" ne se trouve en Javanais moderne que dans des tournures fixes, comme *doh-tjedaké*, „distance", et *dohé pira?* „quelle est la distance?" Mais comme base le mot a été remplacé par *adoh*, d'où sont dérivés *ngadoh*, *ngadohi* et *ngadohaké*, „éloigner".
c) V.J. *bot*, „lourd" est comme la base précédente conservé dans la langue moderne dans de certaines combinaisons comme *bot-répot*, „soucis", et dans la forme pourvue du suffixe possessif *boté*, qui a obtenu le sens de „néanmoins".
   Pour le reste elle a été remplacée dans sa fonction de base par deux dérivés:
   1) *abot*, p.e. *ngabotaké*, *ngaboti*, „considérer important, alourdir",
   2) *bobot*, p.e. *dibobot*, „pesé", *mbobot* et *mbobotaké*, „être enceinte (de)"; *bobotan*, expression pour des „besoins naturels".
d) V.-J. *ton*, „voir" n'est plus employé en Javanais moderne. Sa place est occupée par un nombre de dérivés:
   1) *katon*, qui sert comme base pour des formes telles que *ngatoni*, „apparaître devant quelqu'un" et *ngatonaké*, „exposer";
   2) *tonton*, d'où sont dérivés *nonton*, *nontoni*, „visiter";
   3) *pinton*, qui est la base de *mintoni*, *mintonaké*, „montrer".
e) V.-J. *sah*, „séparé" est conservé dans l'expression courante *tansah*, „sans interruption, continuellement", qui est devenue un adverbe, et dans *pasah*, „une sorte de divorce". Les autres formes reposent sur une nouvelle base *pisah*, p.e. *dipisah*, „être séparé" et *misahaké*, „séparer" et encore *pĕpisahan*, „séparés l'un de l'autre".
f) V.-J. *srah*, „rendre" est rare en Javanais moderne. La nouvelle base est le dérivé par moyen du préfixe *pa-*: *pasrah*. On remarquera des dérivés comme p.e. *dipasrahaké* et *kapasrahaké*, „être rendu" et *masrahi* et *masrahaké*, „rendre".
g) V.-J. *göng*, „grandeur" est, par le changement normal de *ö* en *u*, devenu en Javanais moderne *gung*; mais cette forme-ci n'est plus en usage. Les formes qui sont restées, sont *agung* et *agĕng*, „grand".
h) V.-J. *pāt*, „quatre" n'est plus usagé en Javanais moderne. Comme numéral indépendant cette forme a été remplacée par la forme à réduplication *papat*. Mais comme numéral attributif on emploie une forme qui est composée avec l'ancien article — aussi disyllabique — *patang*, p.e. *patang taun*, „quatre ans".
   Un autre dérivé disyllabique, qui est resté en usage commun, est *kapat*, „le nom du quatrième mois de l'an solaire".

i) V.-J. *rwa,* „deux" serait devenu en Javanais moderne **ro,* mais cette forme ne se trouve que dans quelques composés, comme *rolas,* „douze" (qui est d'ailleurs aussi disyllabique!). La seule forme monosyllabique qui soit restée dans le langage commun, est celle pourvue de l'article *rong.* Comme numéral indépendant on emploie la forme avec réduplication *loro,* „deux". Aussi d'autres bases disyllabiques se sont développées, comme p.e. *karo,* „avec", d'où est dérivé un verbe tel que *ngaroni,* „faire avec deux hommes", et *paro,* d'où *diparo,* „est divisé".
Puis *pindo* (de **pinro*), „deuxième", d'où est dérivé *dipindo,* „fait pour la deuxième fois".

j) Bien que la base *lor,* „nord" soit très employée en Javanais moderne, on n'oubliera pas, que quelques dérivés très communs reposent sur une nouvelle base *kalor,* p.e. *ngalor,* „(aller) vers le nord" et *mĕngalor,* „plus vers le nord".
Ce fait apparaîtra clairement si on compare les mêmes formes de la base *kidul,* „sud", dont on trouve *ngidul* et *mĕngidul.* Une corrélation comme *ngidul*: *kidul* = *ngalor*: *kalor* montre que des formes telles que *ngalor* et *mĕngalor* reposent sur une nouvelle base *kalor.*

k) La base *kon,* „ordonner" qui est très commune en Vieux-Javanais n'est plus d'un usage commun. Ses dérivés normaux, comme *ngon* et *ngoni* ne sont pas employés. Il existe bien des dérivés de la nouvelle base *akon,* p.e. *ngakoni,* „ordonner à quelqu'un" et ceux de l'ancienne base redoublée *konkon,* p.e. *ngonkon,* „ordonner" et *ngonkoni,* „envoyer pour quelqu'un".

l) V.-J. *tos,* „dûreté" a disparu de la langue commune. Bien usité est encore le dérivé *atos,* „dur", qui a servi de nouvelle base à *ngatosaké,* „durcir".
Une forme pourvue du suffixe *-an* est aussi restée en usage. C'est „*tosan*", qui a perdu le lien direct avec *tos* et remplace en langage poli le mot *wĕsi,* „fer".

Voilà douze exemples qui donneront une idée de la façon dont les anciennes bases monosyllabiques ont dû céder la place de base à un ou à plusieurs de leurs dérivés.

On peut ajouter encore quelques cas particuliers, dans lesquels les relations sont plus compliquées.

1) La vieille négation *tan* n'existe plus en Javanais commun. Dans sa forme monosyllabique *tan* était trop insignifiant pour exprimer la notion importante et toujours accentuée de la négation [5]). Le mot a été remplacé comme négatif par d'autres expressions [6]), mais gardé dans quelques cas, où ensemble avec un autre mot monosyllabique il formait une combinaison intime. C'est donc cette combinaison disyllabique qui a survécu.

Une forme de ce genre a été mentionnée déjà, c'est *tansah,* „sans interruption, con-

5) La négation est accentuée, parce que dans une phrase négative on veut en général nier expressément l'énonciation. C'est là un fait en général trop négligé, qui aide à expliquer l'histoire de la négation dans beaucoup de langues. Ainsi la négation indo-européenne * *nĕ* a été remplacée par *οὐκ* en grec, par *nōn* en latin etc. Aussi l'histoire de la négation en Anglais et en Français offre des exemples intéressants.

6) Voir plus loin, page 75.

tinuellement" [7]). Une autre c'est *tambis*, „pas tout à fait", une contraction des mots *tan* et *wis* [8]). Aussi le mot *tambuh* en Javanais moderne, „ne pas savoir" ne pourrait être autre chose qu'une contraction de *tan* et de *wruh*, „savoir", cette combinaison étant fréquemment usitée en Vieux-Javanais [9]) dans exactement le même sens. KERN donne cette étymologie avec quelque hésitation, dûe à l'irrégularité du développement phonique. Son doute ne me semble pas tout à fait justifié dans ce cas. Car la forme qu'on aurait attendue, **tambruh*, s'est changée en *tambuh* par l'aversion dans le système phonémique du Javanais contre des combinaisons de consonnes de ce genre.

Un autre fait de ce genre — mais plus étonnant encore — est la combinaison de la même négation *tan* avec l'élément préfixal *pa-* dans *tanpa*, „sans". Les combinaisons du type *tan pagawe* ont été très fréquentes en Vieux-Javanais et ont été senties plus tard, quand *tan* devenait moins commun, comme composées de *tanpa* avec la base disyllabique: ainsi *tan pagawe* est devenu deux mots disyllabiques *tanpa gawe*. Et si le développement de *tanpa* en base disyllabique n'est pas allé plus loin encore pour aboutir à une forme *tåmpå*, cela est sans doute dû à la tendance d'éviter l'homonymie avec la base très commune *tåmpå*, „recevoir".

m) Tandis que le substantif *dé*, „action" n'est plus usité en Javanais moderne, des combinaisons telles que *déné* et *déning* sont devenues des mots importants pour le système de grammaire et de syntaxe en Javanais moderne.

n) Le pronom personnel de la deuxième personne du singulier en Vieux-Javanais *ko* est devenu dans la langue moderne *kowé*. Probablement, cette forme est composée de l'ancien pronom avec une exclamation *é* [10]).

Un cas pareil peut être constaté chez les démonstratifs. Dans le langage parlé on se sert très souvent des formes *kijé*, *kuwé* et *kaé*, tandis que la langue écrite emploie surtout les éléments *ki*, *ku* et *ka* précédés de la préposition dite introductive *i*, soit *iki*, *iku* et *ika*.

o) Les monosyllabes commençant par la mi-voyelle *w* n'avaient pas besoin d'un élément formel pour devenir disyllabiques; on n'avait qu'à prononcer la mi-voyelle d'une façon un peu prolongée et le mot était déjà disyllabique. Cela a été le cas pour des mots comme *wong*, „homme", *wit*, „arbre" et *woh*, „fruit". L'orthographe de ces mots est en général conservatrice, mais ce qu'on entend le plus souvent, c'est *uwong*, *uwit* et *uwoh* [11]).

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7) Voir en haut, page 67.

8) KERN, *op. cit.* IX, page 23.

9) Une pareille combinaison de ces deux éléments se trouve p.e. en Latin (*nescire* et *ignōrāre*) et en Français *ignorer*.

10) Cela me paraît plus probable que le suffixe possessif *-é*. Pour l'adjonction de tels particles aux pronoms on comparera en Français *ceci* et *cela*, en Latin hi-c, en Grec τόδε et en Sanscrit *itam* et *idam*. Voir aussi KERN, *op. cit.* VIII, page 257.

11) Il est rémarquable que PRIJOHOETOMO dans sa „*Javaansche Spraakkunst*", Leyde 1937, page 147, donne dans deux exemples consécutifs les formes *uwit*, „arbre" et *wongé*, „l'homme". Je ne crois pas que cette écriture soit dûe à une simple méprise. Il semble que l'adjonction du suffixe possessif, qui rendait l'entier disyllabique, ait empêché la vocalisation de la mi-voyelle. D'ailleurs dans le même livre, page 52 il écrit *wité*. Il semble que la corrélation *uwit : wité* soit régulière.

III

Les pages précédentes auront montré quelquechose de la façon, dont les vieilles bases monosyllabiques se sont développées en de nouvelles bases disyllabiques. Maintenant nous verrons l'intérêt de la structure disyllabique dans quelques changements de timbre des voyelles.

L'unité de la base disyllabique est accentuée par une tendance vers le parallélisme de développement entre les voyelles des deux syllabes. Si l'une des deux se change, on observe aussi chez l'autre une tendance à changer. Le développement phonémique du Javanais le montre assez souvent. Les exemples les plus frappants en seront discutés ci-dessous.

a) Assez récemment l'*a* à la fin du mot s'est changé en *o* ouvert [12]). Ce changement a eu lieu pour la plus grande partie de sujets parlant le Javanais, mais il n'a pas changé l'écriture des mots en question en lettres javanaises. Et aussi dans les éditions à lettres latines continue-t-on d'écrire *a* dans ce cas. Pour le Javanais ce n'est qu'une variante phonétique, qu'ici, pour besoins de clarté, on écrira par *å*. On pourrait donc représenter ledit changement par - - - - a > - - - - å, p.e. *tĕka* > *tĕkå* („venir"). Mais ce changement n'est pas limité à la dernière syllabe ouverte. Si l'avant-dernière (c'-à-d. la première de la base disyllabique) est aussi ouverte et contient un *a*, cet *a* aussi est devenu *å*. Ainsi *lara* est devenu *lårå*. Le changement de la pénultième syllabe est dépendant de celui de la dernière. Car, si la dernière syllabe est fermée, le changement de la voyelle de l'avant-dernière n'a pas lieu, bien qu'elle soit ouverte.

Mais le parallélisme va bien plus loin encore. Si l'*å* de la dernière syllabe est suivi par l'*å* de la forme irréelle, le premier des deux *å* se change par contraste en *o*. Ainsi *tĕkå* avec *-å* > *tĕkóå*. Mais, si l'avant-dernière syllabe contient dans ce cas aussi un *å*, celui-là devient aussi *o*. Voilà donc une triple correspondance de voyelles: *larang* à côté de *lårå* à côté de *loro-å*.

b) L'ainsi-dit pĕpĕt *ĕ* pouvait se trouver en Vieux-Javanais aussi à la fin du mot. Dans ce cas-là était allongé — ce qu'on rend en général en transcription par le signe *ö*. Cet *ö* est devenu *u* en Javanais moderne, p.e. V.-J. *langö* > JM. *langu*. Mais si la voyelle de l'avant-dernière syllabe en V.-J. était également un *ĕ*, elle s'est changée en *u* comme celle de la dernière. Ainsi V.-J. *rĕngö* est devenu *rungu* dans la langue moderne et V.-J. *kĕdö* est en Javanais moderne *kudu*. Le même changement a eu lieu, quand la dernière syllabe contenait *-ĕh* au lieu de ö: V.-J. *mĕwĕh* J. M. *muwuh*. Quand, au contraire, l'*ĕ* de la dernière syllabe n'a pas été changé en *u* (p.e. parce que la syllabe était fermée), le changement du premier *ĕ* n'a pas eu lieu non plus. Ainsi V. J. *tjĕkĕl* a gardé cette même forme en Javanais moderne.

c) Un pareil changement s'est produit avec les *è* et les *ò*. L'*è* de la dernière syllabe fermée de la base peut se changer en *é*, si par l'adjonction d'un suffixe la syllabe devient

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12) C'est à peu près la voyelle de l'Anglais *call*.

ouverte: *tjantèl,* mais *tjantélan.* Mais, si la première syllabe contient aussi un *è,* celui-là devient *é* aussi: ainsi on trouve *kétélé* à coté de *kètèl.*

Ce changement de *è* en *é* n'est pas général en Javanais. Le fait important, c'est que là, où le changement de *è* en *é* a eu lieu dans la deuxième syllabe, il a lieu dans la première aussi.

c) Pour l'*o* les faits sont exactement analogues: à coté de *sòròg* on peut trouver *sórógé.* mais jamais *sòrógé.*

d) Les répétitions de mots en Javanais sont souvent accompagnées de variations de voyelles. Il faut remarquer, que dans ce cas ce sont souvent les voyelles des deux syllabes de la base qui se changent, p.e. *djaran,* „cheval", et *djaran-djèrèn,* „toute sorte de chevaux" et *bali,* „revenir", mais *bolå-bali,* „toujours partir et revenir".

e) Occasionnellement on trouve de pareilles formes dans le krâmå, le langage poli. Dans ce cas le changement a lieu pour les deux voyelles, p.e. *dèrèng,* le krama de *durung,* „pas encore" et *tjĕkap,* la forme polie pour *tjukup,* „suffisant".

f) Aussi les adverbes démonstratifs indiquent souvent la différence de personne par une alternation des voyelles des deux syllabes. A coté de *mréné,* „vers ici" il y a *mrono,* „vers votre côté" et *mrånå* „vers là-bas".

De la même façon on trouve *sĕ-méné,* „autant que ceci", *sĕmono,* „autant que cela (de votre côté)" et *sĕmånå,* „autant que cela (de son côté)". Il faut remarquer aussi *(ing)kéné,* „hic", *(ing)kono* „istic" et *(ing)kånå,* „illic".

Tandis qu'à l'intérieur de la base la disyllabie est accentuée par une tendance à mettre les deux voyelles plus en rapport l'une avec l'autre, on remarquera pour le préfixe qui précède la base une tendance à affaiblissement. Ce n'est que dans une minorité de cas que le préfixe disparaît en effet, car il a trop d'importance pour la différenciation morphologique. En général, le préfixe ne peut disparaître que quand la différenciation reste claire par d'autres moyens.

a) En Vieux-Javanais les formes actives sont dérivées de la base par moyen des préfixes équivalents *ang-* et *mang-*. La consonne nasale était souvent assimilée au son du commencement de la base. En cas d'une occlusive sourde ou d'un *s* la nasale homorgane remplaçait ces sons. Ainsi d'une base *adĕg,* „se lever" sont dérivées les formes actives *angadĕg* ou *mangadĕg* et de *kurang,* „trop peu": *angurang* et *mangurang.*

Plus tard les syllabes premières *a-* et *ma-* se sont affaiblies et plus tard encore elles sont tombées, car la nasale seule pouvait aussi bien remplir la fonction nécessaire. La nasale, qui d'abord était un moyen accessoire, devint l'élément principal pour l'expression de l'actif. La langue n'y a rien perdu et les formes ont été assimilées au type normal, elles sont devenues disyllabiques.

Ainsi *angadĕg* et *mangadĕg* > *ngadĕg,*
angurang et *mangurang* > *ngurang,*
anggawa et *manggawa* > *nggåwå*

Si, dans la langue écrite on trouve très souvent encore des formes telles que *anggawa,*

c'est seulement une question d'orthographe — pour éviter au commencement d'un mot l'écriture d'une combinaison de consonnes; mais un Javanais lirait une forme écrite de cette façon toujours *nggåwå,* disyllabique.

b) La préposition introductive *i* ou *ing* peut s'unir par combinaison intime au mot qui suit. Alors la combinaison se développera en une expression adverbiale, qui aura tendance à devenir disyllabique.

Ainsi *ing omah,* „dans la maison" est devenu *ngomah,* „chez lui";
ing anḍap, „en bas" > *nganḍap*;
ing arĕp et *ing-adjĕng,* „là-devant" > *ngarĕp* et *ngadjĕng*;
ing ĕndi, „où?" > *ngĕndi*;
ing lĕbĕt, „dedans" > *nglĕbet*;
ing uni, „autrefois" > *nguni*;
ing riki (*riku, rikå*), „ici (de votre côté, là-bas)" sont devenus *ngriki* (*ngriku, ngrikå*);
ing kéné (*kono, kånå*), „ici (de votre côté, là-bas)" sont devenus: *ngkéné* (*ngkono, ngkånå*) et encore *kéné* (*kono, kånå*);
ing akèh, „dans la multitude" > *ngakèh.*

c) Le seul infixe en Javanais moderne qui soit d'un usage courant est *-um-*. Par moyen de cet infixe de nombreux dérivés sont formés du type *tĕkå - tumĕkå.* Une forme comme la dernière est stable à cause de la correspondance fréquente et régulière. Mais cela devient différent, si, par suite de changements phonétiques, la corrélation est devenue plus vague ou moins régulière. Parmi ces changements il faut signaler surtout la chute de l'*h* au commencement et à l'intérieur des mots et celle des *p* et des *w* devant *u.* De *pati,* „mourir" il y avait d'abord **pumati,* ce qui devenait *umati,* la forme du Vieux-Javanais. Là, la corrélation *pati*: *umati* n'était plus claire; par cela la tendance vers la disyllabie a pu être effective et la forme est devenue en Javanais moderne *mati.*

Ainsi de *wĕtu* („sortir") était dérivé **wumĕtu,* plus *umĕtu* et enfin la forme disyllabique *mĕtu.*

Aussi de *hatur,* „dire poliment" on avait d'abord *humatur*; après la chute de l'*h* la nouvelle corrélation *atur*: *umatur* n'était plus régulière, puisque l'infixe se trouvait devant, au lieu d'être dans la base. Alors *umatur* a pu devenir une forme disyllabique *matur.*

Quand la base commençait par *l* ou *r* le développement a été plus compliqué. Mais là aussi tendance vers la disyllabie est clairement visible. *Lampah* avait d'abord comme correspondant à infixe *lumampah.* La première syllabe de cette forme est affaiblie et la forme *lmampah* est devenue par métathèse *mlampah.*

d) Bien moins évident est le développement des préfixes *sa-, pa-* et *ka-*. Ici il s'agit d'éléments préfixaux qui sont essentiels pour le système grammatical. Tandis que *a-* et *ma-* pouvaient disparaître, parce que la nasale seule prenait la fonction — ici la chute des préfixes aurait détruit des distinctions grammaticales qui étaient indispensables. Aussi cela n'est-

il pas arrivé — sauf dans un très petit nombre de cas isolés. Mais quand même on peut voir, plus ou moins clairement, une tendance à réduire le timbre de *sa-*, *pa-* et *ka-* à *sĕ-*, *pĕ* et *kĕ-*. Pour besoins de clarté les préfixes à timbre plein ont en général été remis en place, quand la nuance exprimée par l'élément préfixal restait distincte. On ne trouve l'affaiblissement — parfois la chute — du préfixe que dans les cas, où le rapport avec la base s'est détaché. Dans un cas — celui du préfixe *ka-* — la langue a fait une nouvelle différenciation entre le préfixe à timbre plein et celui à timbre réduit. En outre, une difficulté additionnelle est fournie par les habitudes de l'écriture Javanaise, qui est très conservatrice. Bien des changements de ce genre sont ainsi camouflés, parce qu'on continue d'écrire *a*, où on prononce depuis longtemps *ĕ*.

1) Le préfixe *sa-* garde son timbre plein, quand il veut dire: „un, entier, le même", p. e. *saomah*, „une seule maison, la maison entière ou la même maison". Mais dans les combinaisons communes qui sont devenues une unité indivisible, dans laquelle il n'est plus possible de clairement distinguer le préfixe et la base, on trouve toujours *sĕ-*, p.e.

sĕméné, „autant que ceci",
sĕmono, „autant que cela (de votre côté)",
sĕmånå, „autant que cela (de son côté)",
sĕdulur, „frère ou soeur",
sĕpréné } „jusqu'à maintenant",
sĕpriki }
sĕkawan, „quatre".

2) Pour les dérivés par moyen du préfixe *pa-* les formes sont bien pareilles. Le préfixe est employé pour la formation de noms verbaux et la réduction n'a lieu que si le lien avec la base n'est plus régulier.

Ainsi le mot *galih*, „coeur, intérieur" avait un dérivé normal *pa-nggalih*, mais ce mot est devenu une nouvelle base — dans le sens de „penser", si on le dit d'une personne de haute considération. Ainsi on peut trouver des formes telles que *dipunpĕnggalih*, „pensait à lui" [13]).

Le même cas se préseute pour *pĕntjorong*, „éclat de lumière", d'abord un dérivé de *tjorong*, „tuyau pour mettre l'huile d'une lampe", qui est devenu la base de formes telles que *dipĕntjorongaké*, „faire éclater de la lumière sur".

Il faut mentionner aussi *prungu*, d'abord un dérivé par moyen du préfixe *pa-*, mais après la forme est devenue la base de *diprungoni*, „avoir des nouvelles de".

3) L'état de choses qu'on trouve pour le préfixe *ka-* est trop compliqué, pour qu'on puisse l'expliquer ici. On se contentera maintenant de quelques questions essentielles et on traitera le problème entier dans un article séparé. Un exposé détaillé sur les formes à préfixe *kĕ-* a été donné par BERG [14]).

13) On trouve cette forme p.e. dans le roman *Antép ing Wanita*, page 5.

14) „*Bijdrage tot de Kennis der Javaansche werkwoordsvormen*", dans „Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederl. Indië, Tome 95 (1937), page 121 sqq.

BERG distingue pour le Javanais moderne quatre „degrés d'activité". Tandis que le premier degré correspond à peu près à notre „actif", les trois autres degrés sont passifs: au deuxième degré l'intérêt est divisé entre le sujet et l'objet, au troisième l'intérêt est concentré sur l'objet, tandis que celui qui perpétue l'action est d'un intérêt secondaire. Les formes du quatrième degré enfin sont employées, si celui d'où sort l'action est inconnu ou n'a aucune importance. Ce sont ces troisième et quatrième degrés qui sont indiqués, le premier par le préfixe *ka-*, le deuxième par le préfixe *kĕ-*.

Une telle distinction n'existe pas en Vieux-Javanais. Aux arguments que donne BERG [15]) on pourrait en ajouter un autre. Les mêmes inscriptions, où on trouve des formes comme *tngah* („droit") et *kna* („toucher"), qui ne peuvent avoir représenté autrechose que *tĕngah* et *kĕna,* donnent toujours *kalakuan* („évènement"). Si dans le dernier cas on avait entendu un *ĕ* dans la première syllabe, une forme comme la dernière aurait été écrite *klakuan.* Pour le Vieux-Javanais nous avons donc de bonnes raisons de refuter l'existence d'un préfixe *kĕ-* distingué de *ka-*.

Considérons maintenant les deux préfixes en Javanais moderne. Le *ka-* du troisième degré est d'un emploi général; il peut être combiné avec la plupart des bases verbales transitives, mais les formes sont peu employées dans le Javanais commun. Dans la langue parlée je n'en ai jamais entendu et même dans la langue écrite — du moins, si l'auteur ne se sert pas d'un langage formel ou élevé — leur nombre paraît très petit comparé à celui des premier et deuxième degrés. Il y a là un fait trop peu mentionné dans la littérature sur ce sujet, mais un fait bien important pour se former une idée juste de ces formes.

Au contraire, les formes du quatrième degré sont très fréquentes dans la langue parlée comme dans la langue écrite. Mais la formation est limitée d'un autre côté; des formes à préfixe *kĕ-* ne peuvent être dérivées de n'importe quelle base verbale transitive. On ne pourrait pas dire p.e. *kĕkåndå,* „raconté sans qu'on le veuille". On ne peut employer ces formes que dans un nombre de cas — considérable d'ailleurs — où l'idiome le permet.

En comparant l'état de préfixe en Vieux-Javanais et dans la langue moderne on peut conclure que le seul préfixe *ka-* du Vieux-Javanais s'est développé en *kĕ-* et en *ka-*, qui, ensemble, exercent la fonction remplie par le seul *ka-* en Vieux-Javanais. Il n'y a que l'explication suivante, qui puisse rendre clairs tous ces faits.

Le préfixe *ka-* est devenu devant les bases disyllabiques *kĕ* et s'est limité pour dénoter des actions dans lesquelles celui qui agit n'a aucune importance. Devant une base monosyllabique il a toujours gardé la forme *ka-*. Mais la langue écrite a conservé — en partie sans doute grâce à l'écriture — le préfixe *ka-* dans son ancienne forme et l'a restitué partout, aussi devant des voyelles. Une forme telle que *kaulungakĕn* [16]) donnerait une idée du caractère — pour ainsi dire — artificiel de ces formes.

Dans la litérature il y a confusion continuelle entre les deux formes du préfixe. Souvent des formes qui par leur sens auraient dû être écrites avec *kĕ-* s'y trouvent avec *ka-*. Un

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15) *Ibidem,* page 143.
16) *Antĕp ing Wanita,* page 26.

exemple frappant de cette confusion se trouve dans une grammaire écrite par un Javanais [17]) où parmi les exemples de l'emploi du préfixe *kĕ-* on cite *kapĕtuk* [18])!

Cette confusion est compréhensible, si pour un Javanais la différence entre *ka-* et *kĕ-* n'appartient pas à la grammaire proprement dite, mais à l'idiome.

Dans quelques cas l'affaiblissement est allé plus loin encore et le préfixe est complètement tombé. Ce n'est que l'histoire du Javanais qui montre que les formes *sĕlak, para, pĕrnah, pati* et *tuju* ont remplacé resp. *kĕsĕlak, kĕpara, kĕpĕrnah, kĕpati* et *kĕtuju* [19]).

e) L'affaiblissement de la syllabe précédant la base est aussi visible dans les formes à réduplication. Ainsi des formes comme *tutuku* et *dadalan* sont devenues *tĕtuku* et *dĕdalan*. Ici aussi, l'écriture javanaise garde souvent *tutuku* et *dadalan*, dont la première syllabe est toujours prononcée avec *ĕ*.

f) Les formes passives avec le préfixe *di-*, très communes en Javanais moderne, n'existaient pas en Vieux-Javanais. Leur origine est probablement une combinaison de *den*, „le fait que" avec la base sans nasale [20]).

g) Dans quelques formes avec l'infixe *-in-* on peut observer la chute de la première syllabe. Ces chutes se sont produites au temps où l'infixe n'était plus vivant. Voici quelques exemples [21]): *nuju*, „par hasard", de *tinuju*; *nanak*, „mon enfant", de *inanak* et *natar*, „cour", de *linatar*.

h) Nous allons considérer encore quelques cas divers.

La vieille négation *tan* était remplacée par la combinaison *tan wwara*, „il n'y a pas". Cette combinaison s'est développée régulièrement en *tanora*. C'est cette dernière forme qui a été disyllabifiée et est devenue dans la langue moderne *nora* et *ora*.

Les premières syllabes des formes polies *punåpå* et *punikå* ont été affaiblies et, tandis que les formes sont encore écrites de la même façon, elles sont actuellement prononcées *mĕnåpå* et *mĕnikå*.

Les mêmes formes ont été réduites à des formes disyllabiques *nåpå* et *nikå* dans le langage madyå [22]). Là, on trouve aussi *mawon* au lieu de *kĕmawon*.

i) Enfin il y a quelques cas où après l'adjonction d'un suffixe la combinaison est devenue tellement commune, qu'elle était sentie comme un entier et est devenue disyllabique.

Ainsi *ibuné*, „la mère de" était souvent mis devant le nom d'un enfant et devint *buné*, „Madame".

Anggéné, „le fait que" est devenu *géné*, „comment est-il possible que?"

Dèwèkné, d'abord „son corps" est devenu une expression pour le pronom personnel de la troisième personne et s'est changé en *dèkné*, „il, elle etc.".

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17) PRIJOHOETOMO, *Javaansche Spraakkunst*, page 81.

18) Cette forme exacte se trouve d'ailleurs aussi dans le recueil *Kĕmbar Majang*, page 4.

19) BERG, *op. cit.*, pag. 210.

20) KERN, *op. cit.* VIII, page 306.

21) BERG, *op. cit.*, 212 sqq.

22) Le *madyå* consiste d'un nombre de mots qui sont employés, si on ne veut pas parler sans politesse, tout en évitant les formes polies proprement dites. Les formes du *madyå* sont caractéristiques de la langue parlée.

Dans un cas isolé nous pouvons constater une telle réduction à deux reprises. Le mot *udjar*, „parole" était souvent employé en combinaison avec le suffixe possessif *udjaré*, „ses paroles". Puis *udjaré* est devenu une expression adverbiale dans le sens de „à ce qu'il dit". *Udjaré* a donc rompu son lien avec *udjar* et le mot devint disyllabique *djaré*. Mais derrière cette nouvelle base on a de nouveau adjoint le suffixe possessif, pour bien accentuer la notion de „à ce qu'il dit, *ses* paroles" et la forme est devenue *djaréné*. Mais une deuxième fois la tendance à la disyllabie s'est effectuée et *djaréné* est dans la langue parlée devenu *réné*.

Un cas comme le dernier donne bien une idée de l'intensité de la tendance en Javanais à prêter à une base la forme disyllabique. Les pages précédentes auront montré que cette tendance a été vive pendant toute la partie historique et la partie préhistorique du Javanais autant que nous puissions la reconstruire. Elle a été la cause directe d'un nombre de changements de la langue et là, où l'effet de lois phonétiques menaçait la structure disyllabique, les sujets parlants ont trouvé des moyens pour reconstituer cette structure. Sous ce rapport — comme d'ailleurs sous plusieurs autres — le Javanais nous donne un exemple remarquable de la continuité dans le développement de la langue.

YŪPA INSCRIPTIONS

by

B. CH. CHHABRA
Ootacamund

The magnificent contribution that Prof. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel has made to revealing India's past has won him a very high place among the greatest of indologists of our age. It is further a matter of extreme gratification that even at this advanced age he is ever active in his scholarly pursuits, and continues guiding and inspiring us by his own shining example. The thoroughness of his method of investigation and the restraint his pen exercises are indeed worthy of our emulation. On this happy occasion of the Golden Jubilee of his literary career, I cannot think of a more befitting tribute than to recall these characteristic traits of his scholarly make-up and, by way of illustration, point to one of his early essays in the field of indological researches.

June 1910 saw a marvellous discovery in the shape of two stone *yūpas*, exhumed from their watery tomb in the river Yamunā, at Īsāpur, a suburb of the city of Mathurā in the United Provinces. They now adorn the Curzon Museum of Archaeology at Mathurā. One of them bears an early Sanskrit inscription, complete and well-preserved, which at the time of its discovery ranked as the earliest of its kind. A masterly exposition as to what the inscription conveys and what purpose the two unique pillars, with their uncommon shape and peculiar carvings had served in the past, emanated from Prof. Vogel's pen almost on the heels of the discovery [1]).

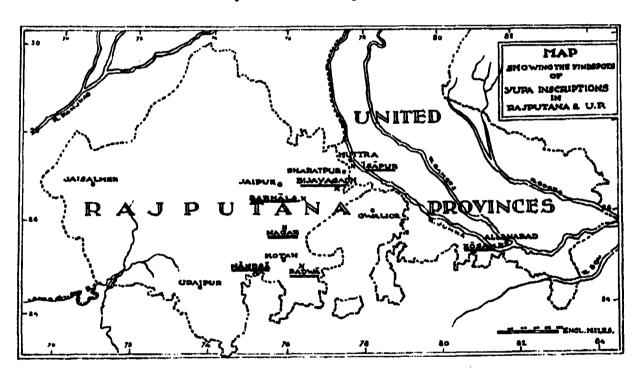
Another stone *yūpa* was known at that time. It is inside the hill fort of Bijayagaṛh near Byānā in the Bharatpur State of Rājputāna, some fifty miles south-west of Mathurā. It had been discovered about forty years previously. It also bears a Sanskrit inscription, which in point of time is later than the Īsāpur *yūpa* inscription by 270 years. Although the inscription had been ably edited [2]), the full significance of the *yūpa* was brought out only by Prof. Vogel on the discovery of the Īsāpur *yūpas*.

Outside India proper, a group of four stone *yūpas* had been discovered as early as June 1879 somewhere in the native state of Koetei on the east coast of the island of Borneo in the

1) *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1910-11, pp. 40-8, with two plates.

2) *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. Vol. III, Calcutta, 1888, pp. 252-4, with one plate.

Far East, These were later removed to the Museum at Batavia in Java. They likewise contain each a Sanskrit inscription of about the 4th century A.C. Their importance as precious documents had been duly recognized and they had been treated of by so great an authority as Prof. Dr. H. Kern, but it was too early then fully to appreciate the unique character of the antiquities. An exhaustive treatment of them, therefore, became a desideratum, which was supplied by Prof. Vogel [3]).

During the long interval between then and now, a good few more inscribed stone *yūpas* have come to light, both in India and abroad. The total number of the *yūpa* inscriptions so far discovered amounts to nineteen, sufficient to constitute a class by themselves. Those discovered in recent years have, with the exception of two or three, also been published. While it may be considered desirable now to bring out a monograph, consolidating the researches done on this particular type of epigraphs, a recapitulation of them in this short paper may not altogether be void of interest. It might, by drawing attention to their common characteristics and peculiar features, pave the way for the more ambitious plan.

The following list will give an idea of the distribution of the known *yūpa* inscriptions.

1 Isāpur-Mathurā, year 24 = 102 A.C.; *ARASI-1910-11.* 40-48.
2 Kosam-Allahabad, ± 125 A.C.; *Epigraphia Indica,* XXIV, 245-51.
3-4 Nāndsā-Udaipur, year 285 = 225 A.C., *Indian Antiquary,* LVIII, 53.
5 Barnāla-Jaipur, year 284 = 227 A.C.; *EI,* XXVI, 119-20.
6-8 Baḍvā-Kotah, year 295 = 238 A.C.; *EI,* XXIII, 42-52.

3) *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië,* Vol. 74, (1918), pp. 167-232, with three plates.

9 Baḍvā-Kotah, ± 238 A.C.; *EI*, XXIV, 251-3.
10 Nagar-Jaipur, year 321 = 264 A.C.; not yet published.
11 Barnāla-Jaipur, year 335 = 278 A.C.; *EI*, XXVI, 121-3.
12 Bijayagaṛh-Bharatpur, year 428 = 371 A.C.; *CII*, III, 252-4.
13-16 Koetei-Borneo, ± 400 A.C.; *Bijdragen* etc., LXXIV, 167-232.
17-19 Koetei-Borneo, ± 400 A.C., *Journal of Greater India Society*, XII, p. 14-8.

All, except the last, are accompanied by fascimile plates. In the case of Nos. 3 and 4, the facsimile published is only of a portion of the first line of one of the two inscriptions. These are under publication in the *Epigraphia Indica*. No. 10 is altogether unpublished yet.

The first thing that strikes us is that most of the *yūpa* records of India (3 to 12) are found within the bounds of Rājputāna, the first two only bordering on it. Those of Greater India (13 to 19) all hail from one and the same locality in East Borneo.

For sake of convenience, we may divide our material into two natural groups: Indian and Indonesian. Before going into details of the inscriptions, we may examine the form of the pillars themselves. The perfect example is afforded by the Isāpur pillar, which conforms in almost every detail to the description given in the Vedic texts such as the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*. The remaining ones of the Indian group have not all come to us in their entirety. They vary both in dimensions and sculptural details. One common feature of all the Indian *yūpas* is, however, to be noticed in the fact that they are square below and octagonal above. Only the Nāndsā pillar is an exception. This one is round throughout. Besides those of the literary sources that have been noticed by the previous writers, there are some more that enlighten us as to the form and function of a *yūpa*. An interesting nomenclature concerning *yūpa*, for instance, is found in the Brāhmaṇa Adhyāya of the Bhūmikāṇḍa of Yādavaprakāśa's *Vaijayantī*, a well known Sanskrit lexicon [4]).

Yūpō=stri saṁskṛita-stambhō hōmayūpas=tu śaubhikaḥ |
Yūpāv=agnishu pārsva-sthāv= upasthāv=iti saṁjñitau || 103

Agnishṭhaṁ trishu yūp-ādi yad=agnēḥ saṁmukhē sthitam |
Yūpa-madhyaṁ samādānaṁ yūp-āgraṁ tarma na striyām || 104

Kaṭakē=sya chashālō=stri mūlē tūparam=akshatē |
Vēshṭanaṁ tu parivyāṇaṁ kumbā sugahanā vṛitiḥ || 105

Yūpē saptadaś-āratnāv= aratnir=mēthikō=dharaḥ |
Uttarēshāṁ kramād ākhyā uttrāsaḥ svarumēchanaḥ || 106

Tath=āñjanō vaiyathitaḥ kshālanaḥ śaraśirshakaḥ |
Sudhanvō rathagarutaḥ śaikhālika-karañjakau || 107

4) The quotation is from Dr. Gustav OPPERT's edition of the *Vaijayantī*, London, 1893, pp. 91-2.

Vāsavō vaishṇavas=tvāshṭraḥ saumyō mādhura-vējanau |
.... || 108

"While a *yūpa* is a consecrated sacrificial post, a *hōmayūpa* is one that is set up at sacrifices only for the sake of decoration. The two *yūpas* that flank every fire at sacrifices are known by the name Upastha. Whatever, *yūpa* and the like, stands in front of the fire, is called Agnishṭha. The middle and the top of a *yūpa* are called Samādāna and Tarman respectively. The quoit or the ring near the top is known as Chashāla. The rough unhewn bottom part of a *yūpa* is called Tūpara. Its girdle is known as Parivyāṇa, and wrappings Kumbā. If a *yūpa* is seventeen cubit long, these seventeen cubits, from bottom upwards, are designated Mēthika, Uttrāsa, Svarumōchana, Añjana, Vaiyathita, Kshālana, Savaśirshaka, Sudhanva, Rathagaruta, Śaikhālīka, Karañjaka Vāsava, Vaishṇava, Tvāshṭra, Saumya, Mādhura and Vējana respectively."

The very first statement in this description lends itself to the inference that, while there was one properly sanctified sacrificial post at a particular sacrifice, to which the victim was actually or symbolically fastened for immolation, there were numerous other wooden posts that were erected merely to decorate the *yajñabhūmi*. There must be more sacred fires than one on such a grand ceremony, each having a *yūpa* in front and on either side of it. An idea of the picturesque view that these ornamental posts might have presented may be gathered from the description of the Aśvamēdha sacrifice performed by Daśaratha, as given by Vālmīki in the *Rāmāyaṇa* [5]).

Prāptē yūp-ōchchhrayē tasmin shaḍ bailvāḥ khādirās=tathā |
Tāvantō bilva-sahitāḥ parṇinaś=cha tath=āparē ||

Slēshmātakamayas=tv=ēkō dēvadārumayas=tathā |
Dvāv=ēva vihitau tatra bāhu-vyasta-parigrahau ||

Kāritāḥ sarva ēv=aitē śāstra-jñair=yajña-kōvidaiḥ |
Śōbh-ārthaṁ tasya yajñasya kāñchan-ālaṁkṛitā bhavan ||

Ekaviṁśati-yūpās=ta ēkaviṁśaty-aratnayaḥ |
Vāsōbhir=ēkaviṁśadbhir=ēk-aikaṁ samalaṁkṛitāḥ ||

Vinyastā vidhivat sarvē śilpibhiḥ sukṛitā dṛiḍhāḥ |
Ashṭāśrayaḥ sarva ēva ślakshṇa-rūpa-samanvitāḥ ||

Āchchhāditās=tē vāsōbhiḥ pushpair=gandhaiś=cha bhūshitāḥ |
Saptarshayō dīptimantō virājantē yathā divi ||

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5) Bālakāṇḍa, XIV, 22-27. Rāvaṇa's son Mēghanāda is credited with a number of Vedic sacrifices. His sacrificial grove is described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* to be bristling with hundreds of *yūpas*. The vast number only denotes their decorative rôle. *Tatō yūpa-śatākīrṇaṁ saumyachaity-ōpaśōbhitam* | *Dadarśa vishṭhitaṁ yajñaṁ śriyā samprajvalanniva* || (Uttarakāṇḍa, XXV, 3).

We are told here that twenty-one *yūpas* were erected on this occasion. Every one of them was octagonal and twenty-one cubit long. They were draped each in a cloth and adorned with fruits, foliage and flowers. The simile in the last line is very significant. The twenty-one *yūpas* are likened to 'the seven *ṛishis*' (the constellation of Ursa Major, consisting of seven stars). The idea seems to be that each of the three sacred fires, Gārhapatya, Āhavanīya and Dakshiṇa, was allotted seven *yūpas,* which made it shine forth like the constellation named. There were thus three groups of seven each. In the two *bāhu-vyasta-parigrahau* posts we may recognise the two Upasthas, about which we have just read in the *Vaijayantī.* Of particular interest is the specific mention that these twenty-one *yūpas* were set up for beautifying the *yajña, śōbh-ārthaṁ tasya yajñasya.* In other words, they were mere *hōma-yūpas,* as the *Vaijayantī* would have it. I am laying stress on this point, because some writers, while interpreting the *yūpa* in its relation to Vedic sacrifices, could hardly dissociate themselves from the idea of animal sacrifice. The prescribed rules as to the shape and size were perhaps not rigidly to be followed in the case of decorative posts, much less in the case of their lithic representatives which were more in the nature of commemorative pillars. This must account for the variation in size and shape noticeable in their case. One of the points of disagreement shown in connection with the stone *yūpas* is that their lower part being square has no parallel in the wooden prototype. In my opinion, it represents the *tūpara,* whereby is meant the rough unchiselled part of the wooden *yūpa,* as we have seen from the *Vaijayantī.*

Coming now to the inscriptions, we observe that those of the Indian group are almost all dated. No. 1 refers itself to the reign of Vāsishka and dated in the 24th year of the Kushāṇa era, generally identified with the Śaka era. The remaining ones are dated in the Kṛita era which is supposed to stand for the Vikrama era. No. 2 is a partly damaged record and the date, if there was one, is lost in the missing part. N. 9 has no date mentioned in it, but is associated with the other three dated ones from the same place (Nos. 6-8). The form *Kṛitēhi* for *Kṛitaiḥ,* in denoting the year, found in the majority of the inscriptions is an archaism. Nos. 3 and 4 are both engraved on one and the same pillar, having an identical text. In the case of one, however, the year is mentioned both in words and in figures and the form employed is *Kṛitayōr* = *dvayōr* = *vvarsha-śatayōr* = etc.; whereas in the case of the other it is indicated only in figures, introduced by the form *Kṛitēhi.* The use of the instrumental case in such instances is noteworthy.

The royal families represented in these records are Kushāṇa (No. 1), Mālava (Nos. 3 and 4), Mōkhari (Nos. 6-9) and one feudatory to the Imperial Gupta No. 12). The sacrifices recorded are Dvādaśarātra, Saptasōmasaṁsthā, Ekashashṭirātra, Trirātra, Aptōryāman, Puṇḍarīka and so forth. In two cases (Nos. 5 and 10) the name of the sacrifice performed is not specified, but the common term *sattra* is employed to indicate that the *yūpa* in question was in commemoration of a sacrifice. Nos 6-9 and 11 also record gifts of cows as *dakshiṇā.* The usage of the term *dakshiṇya* in this connection in the sense of *dakshiṇā* is of considerable linguistic interest. There are more words and expressions in these inscription, that require explanation. Some of them have their echoes in the classical Sanskrit literature. The con-

cluding prayer, *śraddhā-vittē syātām,* of No. 12, for instance, is reminiscent of Kālidāsa's

> *Dishṭyā Sakuntalā sādhvī sad apatyam idam bhavān |*
> *Sraddhā vittaṁ vidhiś = ch = ēti tritayaṁ tat samāgatam ||* [6])

As to the Indonesian group, the whole lot belongs to one individual, namely King Mūlavarman. The recent addition of three *yūpas* to the four already known has contributed considerably to our knowledge of the cultural history of that far off region. In shape and size, these seven *yūpas* do not at all conform to the prescribed standard. They are crude shafts of stone, of modest dimensions. Of the inscriptions on them, only one records a sacrifice performed by Mūlavarman, while the rest all record the various gifts he made to the Brāhmaṇas. His gifts consisted of cows, bulls, land, lamps, ghee, sesame seeds and what not. Some of them are found enjoined in the *Manusmṛiti,* while some others are mentioned among the traditional sixteen *mahādānas* in the *Purāṇas.* His charities were performed at the holy place of Vaprakēśvara. The inscription recording his sacrifice also speaks of his parentage. He had two brothers and he was the eldest of the three. His father's name was Aśvavarman and grandfather's Kuṇḍuṅga. The particular sacrifice he performed is known as Bahusuvarṇaka. Prof. Kern identified it with Bahuhiraṇya which is a special kind of Sōma sacrifice. I may add that it is mentioned also in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* under the very name of *Bahusuvarṇaka,* once in the description of the peaceful rule of Rāma:

> *Nityaṁ pramuditāḥ sarvē yatha kṛita-yugē tathā |*
> *Aśvamēdha-śatair=ishṭvā tathā Bahusuvarṇakaiḥ* || (Bālakāṇḍa I, 95)

and again in connection with the seven sacrifices performed by Mēghanāda:

> *Agnishṭōmō=śvamēdha=cha yajñō Bahusuvarṇakaḥ |*
> *Rājasūyas=tathā yajñō Gōmēdhō Vaishṇavas=tathā ||*
> *Māhēśvarē* ....
>
> (Uttarakāṇḍa, XXV, 8-9)

The seven sacrifices named here are Agnishṭōma, Aśvamēdha, Bahusuvarṇaka, Rājasūya, Gōmēdha, Vaishṇava and Māhēśvara. Its association with such prominent sacrifices indicates that Bahusuvarṇaka was of an equally high order; and that redounds to the credit of Mūlavarman.

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6) *Abhijñānaśakuntala,* VII, 29.

L'ANNÉE DU LIÈVRE 1219 A.D.

par

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Une inscription siamoise composée en 1357 A.D. à l'occasion du dépôt, près de l'ancienne ville de Kamp'èng P'ĕt, d'une relique bouddhique et de la plantation d'un pied du figuier sacré par le roi Lü T'ai (*Çrī Sūryavaṃça Rāma Mahādharmarājādhirāja*) de la dynastie de Sukhôt'ai, fait allusion en ces termes à une révolution sociale qui se serait produite 139 ans auparavant [1]:

„Le jour où le Maître devint Buddha, notre âge à nous autres hommes atteignait encore 100 ans, mais dans l'intervalle qui s'est écoulé entre ce jour-là et le moment présent, notre âge est descendu au-dessous de 100 ans; maintenant il a diminué d'une année et n'est plus que de 99 ans, assurément. Si l'on demande depuis combien d'années en tout il est descendu au-dessous de 100 ans et a atteint 99 ans, voici ce qu'il faut répondre: l'année où Braña Mahādharmarāja fonda cette relique-ci (1279 *çaka* = 1357 A.D.), l'âge des hommes était descendu au-dessous de 100 ans depuis 139 ans, et l'année où se produisit précisément cette diminution fut une année du Lièvre. A partir de cette année-là, tous les nobles (*cau khun*), brâhmanes, *çreṣṭhin*, astrologues et médecins cessèrent peu à peu d'être considérés comme constituant l'aristocratie; à partir de ce moment-là, ils ne furent plus aimés ni respectés".

Suivant la manière de compter des Siamois [2], 139 ans avant 1279 *çaka* nous reportent à l'année 1141 qui fut bien une année du Lièvre. La diminution de l'âge des hommes et le commencement de la disgrâce progressive des nobles, brâhmanes, etc. date donc de l'année 1219 A.D. Pour que le souvenir de cette révolution soit resté vivace après un siècle et demi, et marque une étape dans la décadence de l'humanité bouddhique que retrace ensuite l'inscription, il faut qu'il s'agisse d'un évènement considérable dont on aimerait connaître la nature et la cause. C'est cette recherche que je voudrais tenter.

La meilleure méthode semble être d'examiner ce qui se passa aux alentours de l'année 1219 dans les pays de la péninsule indochinoise, et de voir si les faits connus portent la trace

1) G. COEDÈS, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, vol. I, p. 77 (III).
2) G. COEDÈS, *Notes critiques sur l'inscription de Rāma Khamheng*, J. Siam Soc., XII, 1918, p. 20.

d'une circonstance qui aurait pu provoquer chez les T'ais du moyen Ménam, connus de leurs voisins sous le nom de Syāṃ, un bouleversement correspondant à cette révolution sociale décrite par l'inscription siamoise.

Les deux dernières décades du XII[e] siècle avaient été marquées par la suprématie du Cambodge que Jayavarman VII avait porté à l'apogée de sa puissance, étendant sa souveraineté sur le Champa, sur le bassin du Mékong au moins jusqu'à la hauteur de Vieng Chan, sur la plus grande partie du bassin du Ménam et sur le nord de la péninsule malaise [3]). Ce grand roi était monté sur le trône en 1181 A.D. et régnait encore en 1200, date à laquelle il envoya une ambassade en Chine [4]). Ensuite les sources dont on dispose actuellement se taisent, et l'on ne sait pratiquement rien de l'histoire intérieure du Cambodge pendant les deux premières décades du XII[e] siècle. Mais, en ce qui concerne ses relations avec ses voisins, on dispose de deux données fort importantes.

Pour l'Annam, les sources chinoises et annamites nous apprennent que les dernières campagnes entreprises au Nghê-an par des armées khmères eurent lieu en 1216 et 1218 [5]).

Au Champa qui avait été annexé par le Cambodge en 1203, l'occupation khmère cessa brusquement en 1220, sans qu'il y ait trace d'une révolte victorieuse des Chams que n'auraient pas manqué de signaler leurs inscriptions. Elles disent simplement que cette année-là, „les Khmèrs allèrent au Saint Pays et les gens du Champa vinrent à Vijaya" [6]). Evacuation volontaire, provoquée peut-être par la même cause qui mettait fin aux campagnes contre l'Annam.

Ainsi l'année 1219 semble coïncider avec un repli des Khmèrs. Reprenons maintenant les termes de l'inscription du roi Lü T'ai, et voyons si les catégories sociales énumérées correspondent aux classes dirigeantes de la société angkorienne.

Cau khun. — Cette expression désigne les nobles en général, *cau* qualifiant peut-être plus spécialement ceux qui le sont par la naissance, les princes, et *khun* ceux qui le sont devenus par anoblissement, les mandarins. C'est l'oligarchie aristocratique, composée de membres de la famille royale et de grandes familles mandarinales, qui détenait les grandes charges de l'empire khmèr, et notamment le gouvernement des provinces et des pays vasseux.

Brâhmanes. — En 1219, le Cambodge était le seul pays de la péninsule indochinoise où existât encore une caste brâhmanique digne de ce nom. Elle avait gardé assez de puissance, non seulement pour maintenir son prestige sous le règne de ce fervent bouddhiste qu'était Jayavarman VII, mais encore pour provoquer sous ceux de ses successeurs une réaction qui se manifesta par la mutilation ou la destruction des images bouddhiques sur les monuments qu'il avait construits.

Çreṣṭhin. — Ce nom, bien attesté au Cambodge par l'épigraphie et la relation de l'envoyé

3) Pour le règne de Jayavarman VII, v. mon *Histoire ancienne des Etats hindouisés*, chap. XI.

4) BEFEO, XXIX, p. 328.

5) H. Maspero, *La frontière de l'Annam et du Cambodge*, BEFEO, XVIII, 3, p. 35.

6) E. Aymonier, *Première étude sur les inscriptions tchames*, JA, 1891 (1), p. 51. Vraḥ Nagar désigne le Cambodge et Vijaya la capitale du Champa dans l'actuelle province de Binh-dinh.

chinois Tcheou Ta-kouan [7]), désignait une certaine catégorie de fonctionnaires, dont le titre complet *varṇaçreṣṭha* indique qu'ils administraient les diverses castes ou corporations qui constituaient l'armature du système social de l'empire khmèr.

Astrologues. — Les *hora* avaient, et ont encore au Cambodge et au Siam, la charge de l'établissement du calendrier et de la détermination des instants fastes, fonction essentielle dans une société qui se préoccupe avant tout d'agir en harmonie avec les lois du Cosmos. On sait que le calendrier luni-solaire des Khmèrs et les noms qu'ils donnent aux animaux du cycle duodénaire ont été adoptés par les T'ais méridionaux [8]).

Médecins. — La médecine, et plus spécialement l'assistance médicale, était en honneur au Cambodge sous le règne de Jayavarman VII qui n'entretenait pas moins de 102 hôpitaux dans son royaume [9]), dotés d'un personnel de médecins et abondamment pourvus de drogues: c'est le seul exemple qu'on ait à cette époque, sur la péninsule indochinoise, d'une telle sollicitude d'un souverain à l'égard des malades.

Cette liste, on le voit, correspond aux rouages essentiels de l'Etat cambodgien à la fin du XII^e siècle et au commencement du XIII^e. A moins de nommer en toutes lettres le Cambodge, le roi Lü T'ai ne pouvait guère s'exprimer autrement s'il voulait marquer qu'en 1219 avait commencé pour ce pays une décadence dont il pouvait 139 ans plus tard mesurer l'ampleur. Mais, au Cambodge proprement dit, l'affaiblissement qui ressort des faits qui viennent d'être rappelés n'entraîna aucun bouleversement social immédiat. Nobles et brâhmanes conservèrent leur situation privilégiée pendant tout le XIII^e siècle, et les *çreṣṭhin* étaient encore en fonction en 1296 à l'époque de la visite de Tcheou Ta-kouan. Le roi Lü T'ai ne doit donc pas faire allusion à une révolution qui se serait produite en 1219 à l'intérieur du Cambodge et qui, à ce titre, n'avait aucune raison d'être mentionnée dans son inscription. Il doit plutôt s'agir d'un évènement qui eut lieu en pays t'ai et dont les répercussions furent particulièrement sensibles à Sukhôt'ai, dans le pays même du roi Lü T'ai.

La fondation du royaume de Sukhôt'ai dans le bassin du moyen Ménam n'a pas encore été datée avec certitude. On peut cependant l'inférer des données que nous possédons. On sait que la libération des Syām sujets de l'empire khmèr est l'oeuvre de deux chefs indigènes, dont l'un, nommé Phā Müöng, avait reçu du souverain d'Angkor le titre khmèr de Kamrateng Añ Çrī Indrapatīndrāditya, une épée de parade et une princesse en mariage. Il y a de fortes présomptions pour que ce souverain, qualifié de „génie du Ciel" (*phi fā*) par l'inscription siamoise qui relate ces faits [10]), soit Jayavarman VII de qui la stèle de Praḥ Khan dit précisément que „à ceux qu'il avait déjà comblés de richesses il donnait en mariage ses filles séduisantes par leur beauté" [11]). Si tel est bien le cas, Phā Müöng vivait au début du XIII^e siècle,

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7) G. GOEDÈS, *Notes sur Tcheou Ta-kouan*, BEFEO, XVIII, 9, p. 5.

8) G. GOEDÈS, *L'origine du cycle des douze animaux au Cambodge*, TP. XXX, 1935, p. 315.

9) G. GOEDÈS, *L'assistance médicale au Cambodge à la fin du XIIe siècle*. Revue médicale française d'Extrême-Orient, 1941, p. 405.

10) *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, vol. I, pp. 7 et 49 (II); *Les origines de la dynastie de Sukhodaya*, JA, 1920 (1), p. 233.

11) BEFEO, XLI, p. 287.

ainsi que son allié Bāng Klāng T'ao à qui après l'éviction du gouverneur khmèr de Sukhôt'ai, il transféra son titre de Kamrateng Añ Çrī Indrapatīndrāditya en l'intronisant roi. Le petit-fils et deuxième successeur d'Indrāditya, le glorieux Rāma K'amhèng, a laissé une inscription de 1292 qui ne parait pas dater du début de son règne, mais en marquer plutôt l'apogée [12]). En supposant que ce règne commença vers 1270 [13]), et en comptant une cinquantaine d'années pour les deux précédents, ceux de son père Indrāditya et de son frère aîné Bān Müöng, on est amené à placer vers 1220 l'accession d'Indrāditya et la libération des Syāṃ du joug des Khmèrs. Il apparaît donc comme assez probable que la disgrâce des nobles, brâhmanes, *çreṣṭhin*, astrologues et médicins, qui commença en 1219, fut celle de la colonie khmère qui devait faire la loi à Sukhôt'ai au temps de Jayavarman VII, disgrâce qui fut le résultat de l'éviction du gouverneur cambodgien et de la proclamation de l'indépendance du pays par les deux chefs t'ais.

On objectera qu'il est étrange de voir le roi Lü T'ai exprimer comme un regret de cette abolition de la primauté des Khmèrs provoquée par la rébellion de son trisaïeul. Je crois qu'on peut trouver l'explication de cette anomalie dans le caractère du roi Lü T'ai. Ce n'était pas, comme son grand-père Rāma K'amhèng, un homme d'action, un conquérant. C'était un pieux bouddhiste qui devait finir par revêtir en 1361 la robe jaune des bonzes, un moraliste qui prêche dans ses inscriptions la mansuétude et le pardon des offenses; c'était surtout un érudit qui réforma le calendrier et composa un traité de cosmologie bouddhique, la *Traibhūmikathā*, dont les versions modernes font encore autorité au Siam et au Cambodge. Il ne pouvait pas ne pas professer une certaine admiration pour cette civilisation khmère qui pendant plusieurs siècles avait brillé d'un si vif éclat. La langue khmère jouissait à ses yeux d'un tel prestige que lors de son ordination en 1361, il fit graver une inscription commémorative en trois langues: pāli, *khmèr* et siamois [14]). Pour ce fin lettré, pour ce philosophe désabusé qui avait dû en 1349-1350 reconnaître la suzeraineté du jeune royaume d'Ayuth'ya fondé sur les ruines de la puissance khmère dans le bassin du bas Ménam, le déclin de la civilisation angkorienne et de sa culture hindoue ne pouvait qu'apparaître comme une catastrophe marquant une étape dans la décadence de l'humanité.

On aimerait savoir quel fut, à l'intérieur du Cambodge, l'évènement précis qui motiva à l'extérieur ce repli marqué par l'arrêt des hostilités contre l'Annam et l'évacuation du Champa, et qui servit apparemment de prétexte aux Syāṃ de Sukhôt'ai pour se libérer de la

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12) *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, vol. I, p. 37 (I).

13) Il faudrait même le faire commencer plus tôt si le Rocarāja (siamois: P'ra Ruang) qui entretenait des relations amicales avec le roi du Tāmbraliṅga (Ligor) nommé Candrabhānu doit être identifié avec Rāma K'amhèng (G. COEDÈS, *Documents sur la dynastie de Sukhodaya*, BEFEO, XVII, 2, p. 44; *A propos de la chute du royaume de Çrīvijaya*, Bijdr., 83, 1937, p. 465). La seconde et désastreuse expédition de Candrabhānu à Ceylan au cours de laquelle il trouva peut-être la mort date en effet de 1270 (K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI, *Srīvijaya, Candrabhānu and Vīrapāṇḍya*, TBG, 77, 1937, p. 251).

14) *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, vol. I, pp. 91-115 (IV-VI).

domination khmère, au moment même où les T'ais des confins du Yunnan s'organisaient en principautés indépendantes [15]).

L'apogée du Cambodge à la fin du XII^e siècle avait été en quelque sorte l'oeuvre personnelle de Jayavarman VII. De 1160 à 1177, le pays avait connu une série de troubles intérieurs et finalement une invasion désastreuse qui aurait pu consommer sa ruine. On sait comment Jayavarman VII libéra le Cambodge de l'occupation chame, porta la guerre au Champa, agrandit ses Etats, puis imposa à son peuple l'exécution d'un gigantesque programme de constructions. Il y a de bonnes raisons de supposer que sa disparition dut provoquer la ruine d'une grandeur qui n'était fondée en fin de compte que sur sa forte personnalité.

La date de sa mort n'a encore été relevée dans aucun texte. On sait seulement de façon certaine qu'elle est postérieure à 1200, année dans laquelle on a vu qu'il envoya une ambassade en Chine, mais plusieurs arguments militent en faveur d'une prolongation de son règne au delà de cette date. D'abord, l'annexion du Champa comme province khmère, résultat de plus de dix ans de luttes, eut lieu en 1203: il est difficile d'en rendre responsable son successeur Indravarman II, personnage obscur dont on ne sait rien; elle est d'ailleurs expressément attribuée à Jayavarman VII par un de ses panégyristes [16]). Ensuite, l'archéologie tend à réclamer pour son règne une durée notablement plus longue que les deux dernières décades du XII^e siècle.

Les inscriptions des pavillons d'angle de la ville d'Angkor Thom attribuent à Jayavarman VII la construction de la muraille et des fossés, et par voie de conséquence celle des portes qui sont elles-mêmes en relation étroite avec le Bayon, temple central. Celui-ci ne peut être antérieur à la muraille qui forme un carré imparfait, parce que le sommet de la tour centrale du Bayon se trouve au point d'intersection des diagonales de ce carré dont le tracé a conditionné l'implantation du monument.

Or, le Bayon et les portes de la ville, avec leurs tours à visages, appartiennent par tous les détails de leur décoration à la seconde période de ce qu'on peut appeler l'art de Jayavarman VII [17]), dont la première est marquée par les parties anciennes de Banteay Kdei, de Ta Prohm (1186) et de Prah Khan (1191). Cette seconde période comprenant entre autres les enceintes et les portes à visages de Banteay Kdei et de Ta Prohm, la construction de Banteay Chhmar, du Bayon et de la muraille d'Angkor Thom, ne saurait être bloquée dans la dernière décade du XII^e siècle, et l'on est obligé d'admettre que le règne de Jayavarman VII se prolongea bien au delà de 1200, car on éprouve quelque difficulté à attribuer l'achèvement de ce programme de constructions, par lequel s'expriment si bien son caractère et sa

15) La principauté de Mogaung au nord de Bhamo aurait été fondée dès 1215 et c'est dans la décade commençant en 1220 que se placent la fondation de Moné ou Müöng Nai (1223), la conquête de l'Assam (1229), la consolidation des principautés de Ch'ieng Rung et de Ngön Yang sur le haut Mékong dont les chefs s'allient par le mariage de leurs enfants, enfin la descente de Khun Borom, l'ancêtre légendaire des Laotiens, c'est à dire l'arrivée massive des T'ais par la vallée du Nam U sur le Mékong à la hauteur de Luang Prabang.

16) Stèle (inédite) du pavillon d'angle sud-ouest d'Angkor Thom, stance 105.

17) G. DE CORAL RÉMUSAT, *L'art khmèr*, p. 130.

personnalité, à ses successeurs qui semblent s'être plutôt souciés de faire gratter la décoration bouddhique de ces monuments. On en vient alors à se demander si ce ne serait pas tout simplement la mort de Jayavarman VII qui en 1219 aurait entrainé la libération des Syāṃ et provoqué chez eux la révolution mentionnée par le roi Lü T'ai.

On ne manquera pas d'objecter que si Jayavarman VII était né au plus tard vers 1125, comme je l'ai proposé ailleurs [18]), il serait mort presque centenaire après un long règne de près de 40 ans. Cette objection a peu de valeur; les règnes de 40 ans et plus ne sont pas rares dans l'histoire du Cambodge [19]), qui fournit par ailleurs plusieurs exemples d'exceptionelle longévité. Il y a dans une des stèles inédites des pavillons d'angle d'Angkor Thom, celle du sud-ouest, une curieuse allusion qui n'est peut-être pas sans rapport avec la question discutée ici. La stance 77 dit en effet que sous le règne de Jayavarman VII qui avait écarté les maux du *kaliyuga* et ramené sur terre le *kṛtayuga,* la durée de la vie humaine était de 100 ans. Etant donné que ces stèles, dont deux sont inachevées, datent des dernières années du règne, il n'est pas impossible qu'il y ait là une allusion à l'extrême vieillesse du roi, et l'on est tenté de condidérer la diminution de l'âge des hommes mentionnée par l'inscription siamoise comme une autre allusion à cette longévité qui dut frapper les imaginations, la mort du roi centenaire restaurateur de l'âge d'or, et le déclin du Cambodge qui s'ensuivit, marquant comme une étape dans la décadence de l'humanité.

Quoi qu'il en soit de cette dernière hypothèse, qui paraîtra peut-être sans grand fondement, on peut retenir de la présente recherche que la révolution de l'année du Lièvre 1219 A.D. correspond à la suppression de l'autorité khmère sur les T'ais du moyen Ménam, résultant de la proclamation de leur indépendance à Sukhôt'ai. Il est vraisemblable que cet évènement, qui coïncida avec un repli des Khmèrs sur d'autres fronts, fut la conséquence de la mort de Jayavarman VII.

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18) BEFEO, XXIX, p. 327.

19) Jayavarman II et Sūryavarman I régnèrent tous deux 48 ans, Sūryavarman II une quarantaine d'années, et Jayavarman VIII une cinquantaine.

THE SEA

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For Plato, the Divine Life is an "ever-flowing Essence" (ἀέναος οὐσία, *Laws* 966 E.). For Meister Eckhart, who called Plato "that great priest", the Soul is "an outflowing river of the eternal Godhead" (PFEIFFER, p. 581, cf. 394); and he says also, "while I was standing in the ground, the bottom, in the river and fountain of the Godhead, there was none to ask me where I was going or what I would be doing... And when I return into the ground, the bottom, the river and fountain of the Godhead, none will ask me whence I came or whither I went" (*ibid.* p. 181). In the same way Shams-i-Tabrīz: "None has knowledge of each who enters that he is so-and-so or so-and-so... Whoever enters, saying, ''Tis I,' I smite him on the brow" (NICHOLSON, *Dīwān...*, 1898, Odes 15, 28) [1].

An incessant river of life implies an inexhaustible source, or *fons*, -- the Pythagorean "fountain, or spring, of the ever-flowing Nature" (πηγὴ ἀενάου φύσεως, *Golden Verses*, 48). "Imagine," says Plotinus, "a fountain (πηγή) that has no origin beside itself; it gives itself to all the rivers, yet is never exhausted by what they take, but always remains integrally what it was ... the fountain of life, the fountain of intellect, beginning of being, cause of the good, and root of the Soul" (*Enneads* 3.8.10 and 6.8.9). This, as Philo, says in comment on Jer. 2.13, πηγὴ ζωῆς, is God, as being the elder source not only of life but of all knowledge (*Fug.* 177, 197, 198; *Prov.* 1.336); cf. John 4.10 and *Rev.* 14.7, 21.6. It is RUYSBROECK's "Fountain-head from which the rills flow forth ... there Grace dwells essentially; abiding as a brimming fountain, and actively flowing forth into all the powers of the soul" (*Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage*, c. 35). And in the same way, Shams-i-Tabrīz: "Conceive Soul as a fountain, and these created beings as rivers. Do not think of the water failing, for this water is without end" (NICHOLSON, *Dīwān...*, Ode 12). Meister ECKHART speaks of the Divine Life as both "fontal and inflowing' The concept of the return of the Soul to its

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1) Cf. RŪMĪ, *Mathnawī* 6.3644 "Whoever is not a Lover sees in the water his own image... (but) since the Lover's image has disappeared in Him, whom now should *he* behold in the water? Tell me that." Similarly in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 8.8 with respect to one's reflection in water.

source, when its cycle is completed and as Blake says, "the Eternal Man reassumes his ancient bliss" is, indeed, universal; so that, in its present sense, the Sea, as the source of all existences, is equally the symbol of their last end or entelechy. Such an end may appear at first sight to involve a loss of self-consciousness, and a kind of death; but it should not be forgotten that in any case the man of yesterday is dead, that every ascent implies a rising on "stepping stones of our dead selves", or that the content of the Now-without-duration (Skr. *kṣaṇa,* Aristotle's ἄτομος νῦν), i.e. of Eternity, is infinite compared with that of any conceivable extent of time past or future. The final goal is not a destruction, but one of liberation from all the *limitations* of individuality as it functions in time and space.

From the Buddhist point of view, life is infinitely short; we are what we are only for so long as it takes one thought or sensation to succeed another. Life, in time, "is like a dewdrop, or a bubble on the water...or as it might be a mountain torrent flowing swiftly from afar and carrying everything along with it, and there is no moment, pause, or minute, in which it comes to rest...or it is like the mark made by a stick on water" (A 4.137). The "individual", a process rather than an entity, ever *becoming* one thing after another and never stopping to *be* any one of its transient aspects, is like Heracleitus' river into which you can never step a second time, —πάντα ῥεῖ. But over against this perpetual flux of the Saṁsāra there stands the concept of the silent Sea, from which the waters of the rivers are derived and into which they must return at last. In speaking of this Sea, the symbol of Nirvāṇa, the Buddhist is thinking primarily of its still depths: "As in the mighty ocean's midmost depth no wave is born, but all is still, so in his case who's still, immovable (*ṭhito anejo*), let never monk give rise to any swell" (Sn 290). The Sea is the symbol of Nirvāṇa, and just as Meister Eckhart can speak of the "Drowning", so the Buddhist speaks of "Immersion" (*ogadha*) as the final goal.

"The dewdrop slips into the shining sea". The reader of these concluding words of Sir Edwin ARNOLD's *Light of Asia* may very likely have thought of them as the expression of an uniquely Buddhist aspiration, and may have connected them with the altogether erroneous interpretation of Nirvāṇa as "annihilation"; for, indeed, he may never have heard of the "annihilationist heresy" against which the Buddha so often fulminated, or may not have reflected that an annihilation of anything real, anything that *is,* is a metaphysical impossibility. Actually, however, for man to be plunged into the infinite abyss of the Godhead as his last and beatific end, and the expression of this in terms of the dewdrop or rivers that reach the sea towards which they naturally tend, so far from being an exclusively Buddhist doctrine, has been stated in almost identical words in the Brahmanical and Taoist, and Islamic and Christian traditions, wherever, in fact "Der Weg zum Selbst" has been sought.

To begin with the Buddhist formulation, we find: "Just as the great rivers, entering the mighty ocean, lose their former names and semblances, and one only speaks of 'the Sea', even so these four kinds, the warriors, priests, merchants, and workmen, when they go forth from the household into the homeless life, into the rule established by the Truth-finder, lose their former names and lineages, and are only called 'ascetics' and 'sons of the Buddha'" (A 4.202; M 1.489; Udāna 55). The figure, no doubt, derives from and represents an adaptation

of the Vedic idea of the oceanic origin and end of the Living Waters as stated, for example, in *RV* 7.49.1, 2: "forth from the Sea the sleepless waters flow... their goal the Sea (*samudrārthāḥ*)". But the words as they stand are more directly an echo of several passages in the Upaniṣads, notably *Praśna Up*. 6.5: "Even as these flowing (*syandamānāḥ*, ῥέοντες) rivers that move towards the sea, when they reach it, are come home, and one speaks only of 'the Sea', so of this 'Witness' of 'Looker-on' (*paridraṣṭṛ*) [2]) these sixteen parts [3]) that move towards the Person, when they reach the Person, are come home, their name-and-shape are broken down, and one speaks only of 'the Person' (*puruṣa*). He then becomes without parts, the Immortal". Similarly in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 6.10.1, 2: "As these rivers flow first eastward to and after backwards from the sea [4]), and when they enter into the sea there is nothing but 'the Sea', and there they know not 'I am this' or 'I am that',—just so, my friend,

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2) The Witness, or Looker-on, is primarily that one of the two birds or selves that does not eat of the fruit of the tree of life, but only looks on (*abhi cakṣīti*, RV 1.164.20, cf. *Muṇḍ. Up*. 3.1.1,2 and PHILO, *Heres* 126); "the Self alive and close at hand, the Lord of what hath been and shall be... who stands indwelling (*praviśya* = ἐνοικῶν) the cave (of the heart), who looked forth in the powers-of-the-soul" (*bhūtebhir vyapaśyat*, KU 4.5.6); "the sole Seer, himself unseen" (BU 3.7.23, 3.8.11); "onlooker (*upadraṣṭṛ*), approver, groom, experient, High Lord and Self Supreme, these are designations of the Supreme Person in the body" (BG 13.22).

The term *upadraṣṭṛ*, hardly to be distinguished in meaning from *paridraṣṭṛ*, has a further particular history and interest of its own, with specific reference to Agni. the Sacerdotium in divinis and within you, whom the Gods "measured out ... to keep watch" (*aupadraṣṭryāya*, JB 3 261-263); Agni is the Onlooker or Watchman, Vāyu the Over-hearer, Āditya the Announcer (TS 3.3.5); and it is from Agni that the Buddha derives his epithet of "the Eye in the World". Krishna's relation to Arjuna is that of Agni to Indra, Sacerdotium to Regnum, and corresponds to that of an older text in which we also find the Purohita acting as the King's charioteer, to advise him and "to see to it that he does no wrong" (*aupadraṣṭryāya ned ayaṁ pāpaṁ karavat* JB 3.94, see in JAOS 18.21). In ourselves, this is the relationship that the Chinese call that of the Inner Priest to the Outer King; the Onlooker's functions are those of the Socratic Daimon, Immanent Spirit, Synteresis and Conscience.

3) There are two "forms" of Brahma, temporal and timeless, with and without parts (Maitri Up. 6.15). In his temporal form Prajāpati (the Progenitor), the Year, is thought of as having sixteen parts, of which fifteen are his "possessions" and the sixteenth, constant (*dhruva*) part Himself; with this sixteenth part he is entered into (*anupraviśya* = ἐποικίζων) everything that breathes here (BU 1.5.14,5); and it is precisely with this sixteenth that is left over (*pariśiṣṭa*) when the fire of life is checked by fasting ("just as there might remain from a blazing fire only a gleed no bigger than a firefly, and that blazes up again when the fast is over") that "you now understand the Vedas" (CU 6.7.1-5). In other words, the constant sixteenth part is the "Spark", Jacob Boehme's "God in me that knows these things" and who, as St Augustine says, both has his throne in heaven and teaches from within the heart, -- "Et constat secundum Augustinum et alios sanctos, quod 'Christus habens cathedram in caelo docet interius'; nec aliqua modo aliqua veritas sciri potest nisi per illam veritatem. Nam idem est principium essendi et cognoscendi" (St Bernard, *In hexaëm*. 1.13, Migne PL. 5.331).

4) This can be understood in two ways, either with Śaṅkara as referring to the general circulation of the waters, which are drawn up from the sea by the sun and return to it in the rivers; or, as it seems to me more plausibly, with reference to the tides that flow alternately far up such a river as the Ganges, and back again into the sea, being "river" as they ebb and flow, but only "sea" when the tide is out. In any case the reference is to the "fontal and inflowing" circulation of the Rivers of Live, cf. RV 1.164.51 *samānam etad udakam uc caity ava*, and JUB 1.2.7 *āpaḥ parācīr .. prasṛtāś syanderan ... niveṣṭamānā...yanti*.

all these children [5]), though they have come forth from that-which-is (*sat*, τὸ ὄν), know not that 'We have come forth from That-which-is', but here in the world become whatever they become, whether tiger, lion... or gnat", i.e. believe that they *are* this or that; whereas, *Maitri Upaniṣad* 6.22: "those who pass beyond this diversely-variegated (sonorosity or rivers, bells, or falling rain) go home again into the supreme, silent, unmanifested Brahma, and reaching. That are there no longer severally characterised or severally distinguished" [6]).

So, again, in China, *Tao Te Ching* 32: "Unto Tao all under heaven will come, as streams or torrents fall into a great river or sea" [9]); which reminds us both of Dante's "nostre pace, è quel mare, al qual tutto si move" (*Paradiso* 3.85,66) and of the Vedic "When shall we come to be again in Varuṇa?" (*RV* 7.86.2), i.e. in that Brahma "whose world is the Waters" (*Kauṣītaki Up.* 1.7), or that Agni who "is Varuṇa at birth" (*RV* 3.5.4, 5.3.1) and is "the single Sea, the keeper of all treasures" (*RV* 10.5.1). In the words of Jalālu'd Dīn Rūmī, "the final end of every torrent is the Sea...Opposites and likes pertain to the waves, and not to the Sea" (*Mathnawī* 4.3164 and 6.1622, cf. PHILO, *Immut.* 164).

Parallels abound in Islamic contexts. Thus, Shams-i-Tabrīz: "Enter that ocean, that your drop may become a sea that is a hundred 'seas of Oman'...When my heart beheld Love's sea, of a sudden it left me and leapt in" (NICHOLSON, *Dīwān*..., Odea XII and VII), — contemporary with Meister ECKHART's "Plunge in, this is the drowning". More than once his great disciple, Jalālu'd Dīn Rūmī, asks us, What is Love? Love is "the Sea of Non-existence" [7]), he says; and again, "What is Love? Thou shalt know when thou becomest Me"

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5) *Prajā* "children", all living things regarded as the offspring of Prajāpati and usually to be distinguished from *bhūtāni*, "beings", in the sense of the "Breaths", i.e. "faculties" or "powers of the soul" (Pythagorean ψυχῆς ἄνεμοι, Philo's τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις, etc), of which the names, vision, etc., are those of the immanent Person's acts rather than of our own (BU 1.4.7, CU 1.5.15, JUB 1.28-29).

As regards the reference of *prajā* to all living things, whether or not human, cf. BU 1.4.3,4: "Thence were born human beings... Thus, indeed, He (Puruṣa, the Person) emanated all (*sarvam asṛjata*), down to the ants,"—a context that makes it clear that *sṛṣṭi*, too often rendered by "creation", ought rather to be rendered by "emanation" or "expression". It is one and the same universal Self that quickens all things, but It is more clearly manifested in animals than in plants, and still more clearly in man than in animals (*Aitareya Āraṇyaka* 2.3.2). In Meister Eckhart's words, "God is in the least of creatures, even in a fly"; and conversely, "any flea, as it is in God [ideally], is higher than the highest of the Angels as he is in himself".

For the term "emanation', often avoided for fear of a narrow "pantheistic" interpretation, cf. St Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.* 1.45.1: *Oportet* considerare... emanationem totius entis a causa universali quae est Deus... Creatio, quae est emanatio totius esse, est ex non ente, quod est nihil.

God is the supreme identity of "Being and Non-being", Essence and Nature; from Non-being there arises Being as a first assumption, and from Being come forth all existences.

6) "He who aims at actual gnosis...will pin his faith to the One devoid of any sort of number or variety, the One wherein is lost, is blotted out, every property and all distinctions, which are there the same" (Meister Eckhart, in EVANS, II. 64).

7) I.e. of super-essential Being, unlimited by any of the conditions of ex-istence (*ex alio sistens*), those of being "thus" or "otherwise". "There is no crime worse than thy ex-istence" (Shams-i-Tabrīz, in NICHOLSON, *Dīwān*..., Ode XII): "Most specially he feeleth matter of sorrow who knows and feels that he is. All other sorrows are

(*Mathnawī*, 3.4723, and 2. Introduction). Man is like a drop of water that the wind dries up, or that sinks into the earth, but "if it leaps into the Sea, which was its source, the drop is delivered...its outward form disappears, but its essence is inviolate...Surrender thy drop and take in exchange the Sea...of God's Grace"; "Spill thy jug [8])... for when its water falls into the river-water, therein it disappears, and it become 'the River' " (*Mathnawī*, 4.2616 f. and 3.3923-3), — the River, that is to say, of Plato's "ever-flowing Nature" [9]).

All this pertains to the common universe of metaphysical discourse; none of these ways of speaking is foreign to specifically Christian aspiration. For God "is an infinite and indeterminate Sea of substance" (DAMASCENE, *De fid. orth.* 1): and deification, or theosis, man's last end, demands an "ablatio omnis alteritatis et diversitatis" (NICOLAS OF CUSA, *De Filiatione Dei*). "All things", Meister ECKHART says, "are as little unto God as the drop is to the wild sea; and so the soul, indrinking God, is deified, losing her name and her own powers, but not her essence" (PFEIFFER, p. 314). And RUYSBROECK: "For as we possess God in the immersion of Love,—that is, if we are lost to ourselves—God is our own and we are His own; and we sink ourselves eternally and irretrievably in our one possession, which is God...And this down-sinking is like a river, which without pause or turning back pours ever into the sea; since this is its proper resting place...And this befalls beyond time; that is, without before or after, in an Eternal Now...the home and the beginning of all life and all becoming. And so all creatures are therein, beyond themselves, one Being and one Life with God, as in their eternal origin" (RUYSBROECK, *The Sparkling Stone*, ch. 9 and *The Book of Truth*, ch. 10).

So, also, ANGELUS SILESIUS in *Der Cherubinische Wandersmann*, 2.25:

Wenn du das Tröpflein im grosse Meere nennen,
Denn wirst du meine Seel' im grossen Gott erkennen;

and to the same tradition there belongs Labadie's beautiful last testament: "I surrender my soul heartily to God, giving it back like a drop of water to its source, and rest confident in Him, praying God, my origin and Ocean, that He will take me into himself and engulf

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unto this in comparison but as game to earnest. For he may make sorrow earnestly who knows and feels not only what he is, but that he is" (*Cloud of Unknowing*, Ch. 44). The Supreme Identity, indeed, is of "Being and Non-being" (*sadasat*), beyond both affirmation and negation; but to attain to this last end, it will not suffice to have stopped short at Being existentially.

8) For the "jug", the psycho-physical "personality", see Rūmi, *Mathnawī* 1.2710-2715; cf. the Vedantic symbol of the jar, of which the space contained and space that contains are seen to be the same as soon as the jar is broken; and the Buddhist comparison of the body to a jar, Dh 40, *kumbhūpamaṁ kāyam imaṁ viditvā*.

9) It will be noticed that the terms of the symbolism are not always literally the same. The eternal source may be called the Sea, or the River, while temporal existences are either waves of the Sea, of rivers that reenter it, or that are tributaries of the River. The eternal source is at the same time motionless and flowing, never "stagnant"; so that, as Meister Eckhart says, there is "ein brunne in der gotheit der an allen dingen ûz fliuzet in der êwikeit und in der zît" (PFEIFFER, p. 530); as is also implied by the "enigma" of RV 5.47.5 where "though the rivers flow, the Waters do not move".

me eternally in the abyss of His being" [10]). When, indeed, shall we come "to be again in Varuṇa"?

In conclusion: we are not much concerned here with the literary history of these striking agreements; it matters little that the Indian sources are the oldest, since it can almost always be assumed that any given doctrine is older than the oldest record of it that we happen to have found. The point is, rather, that such collations as have been made above illustrate a single case of the general proposition that there are scarcely any, if any, of the fundamental doctrines of any orthodox tradition that cannot as well be supported by the authority of many or all of the other orthodox traditions, or, in other words, by the unanimous tradition of the Philosophia Perennis et Universalis.

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10) Cited by Dean INGE, *Philosophy of Plotinus*, ed. 2, I. 121.

SIAMESE VERSIONS OF THE PANJI ROMANCE

by

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In 1941 I undertook to present to competent students materials for literary research regarding Siamese versions of the Panji romance. That was however done in the Siamese language [1]. As a matter of fact, it was originally intended to be in English so as to be within reach of a wider circle of students. The sudden switch to my own language was due to the death at that juncture of my grandmother, at the cremation of whose remains I wanted to issue this work as a memento of the occasion for reasons which I explained at some length in that book. Since then I have had considerable time to reconsider the findings therein recorded, and, although my views in general on the historical aspect of the problem remain unchanged, a good deal of further reading has modified many details and circumstantial evidences. The present monograph is therefore a fulfilment of that original intention to serve scholars in a comparative study of the famous Indonesian romance which has spread all over South-East Asia, and become, next to the story of Rama, the classic theme of Siamese dramatic literature.

In Siam the hero of the story is better known as Inao than as Panji, though the latter is strictly kept for him as a name while in disguise. I have nevertheless adopted the more widely known name for the title of my monograph.

There are in this country two types of this romance, one represented by the play DALANG, otherwise called the *greater tale of Inao*, conforming the most to average versions in the Malay archipelago, and the other by several plays and poems under the name of INAO, or the *lesser tale of Inao*, which is more popular in this country than the former and therefore much widely known here. It is nevertheless not an indigenous product, for a Malay version exists which conforms to this type and has probably been its model.

There are at present two manuscripts of the play DALANG. Both are obviously incomplete and though acquired by the National Library and still kept there their missing parts have not yet been found. The play is believed to date only from the first reign of the

1) A Biography of Thao Vorachandra and Materials for the study of the origin and venue of the Siamese tale of Inao, B.E. 2484 (1941).

Bangkok dynasty and is treated as a "royal writing", *Phra Rajanipondh,* that is a work either written by the King himself or under his direct instigation and attention. One MS consists of 32 volumes of the old-style Siamese folio, was published at Dr D. B. Bradley's press in 1890 and is now out of print and very hard to find. The second, consisting of 39 volumes, is however shorter in material. The MSS date from the third reign of the present dynasty. Beyond these two MSS there does not seem to exist any others either of the play DALANG or any other play which can be classified as belonging to this type of the Panji romance.

The second type, that of the *lesser tale of Inao,* survives in more numerous versions, as well as in countless references in the poetry of later Ayudhya and especially of Bangkok. As a literary work it attained to the front rank during the second reign of Bangkok and kept its position all through the ages to the present day. Alhough the inundation of Western literature and the modern cinema have somewhat eclipsed respectively the reading of INAO and its perfomance on the stage, it is still valued as one of the two leading romantic epics and maintains its own in literary and aristocratic circles.

The works in which the *lesser tale of Inao* survives are:

1. *Inao in chanda verses,* the work of Chao Phya Phraklang (Hon), a well-known poet who lived till 1805. This deals with only a short episode, namely the abduction by the hero of the heroine to a mountain cave, a feature at once indicating its belonging to the type of the lesser tale as the other type does not contain this episode. It might have been written for the shadow- play.

2. A fragment of the story in *klòn* for *lakon* purposes, judged by King Chulalongkorn to belong to late Ayudhya days from its description of the typical capital and royal palace, was secured by Prince Damrong, while President of the National Library, from Nakon Sri Dharmaraj and published in his *History of the Drama of Inao* in 1921 (pp. 85-93). An epilogue to it was discovered later confirming the fact that the above was a relic of the late Ayudhya period and that King Rama I wrote a concluding section to it in the royal chamber of Čakrabarti-piman.

3. The complete version of the story of Inao written by Rama II, following on the lines of the older one just mentioned as far as can be ascertained from its fragments, is infinitely superior in poetical expression and dramatic technique. This is of course the classic version by which the story maintains its popularity through the past century. It was first published by Dr D. B. Bradley and is now out of print. It was published again in 1921 by the National Library in three volumes with a fourth dealing with the history of the drama of Inao and the publication was financed by the mother of His late Royal Highness Prince Paribatra on the occasion of her attainment of the sixth cycle in age which is an occasion with us Siamese for a special celebration of the day.

The Cambodian version, summarised and studied by Dr Poerbatjaraka in his scholarly *Pandjiverhalen onderling vergeleken* (Bandoeng 1940), is none other than this version of Rama II, which is also popular in Cambodia. I had the opportunity of being present, by command of the late King Sisowath of Cambodia, at one of its performances on the terrace-pavilion of the Royal Palace in Pnompenh in 1926, at which the words were sung in the

original Siamese of Rama II interspersed however with dialogues in Cambodian which, I was told, were explanatory of the plot and often supplying as in Siam a farcical element to entertain spectators and to give the dancers some rest from their strenuous performances.

I was inclined at first to conclude that the latter story, that of INAO, was a local product, especially when taking into account the fact that it has been during the last two centuries much more popular here, as evidenced by references in Siamese literature since late Ayudhya days as well as *lakon* performances recorded in the history of Bangkok. On further search, however, I came across another version of the Panji romance which is even now almost unknown in this country. It is a Siamese translation of some 400 typewritten foolscap pages preserved in the National Library. It is stated therein that the original was in Javanese, written by a certain *ḍalang*, that is an exhibitor of the shadow-play, named Ari Nagara, and had been translated into Malay. The Siamese translation was made in 1918-9 by Khun Nikorn Prajakič and offered to Prince Damrong then President of the National Library. The main gist conforms more to INAO than DALANG, and seems to indicate that after all INAO might have been adapted from this work. A feature of this work might turn out to be important for tracing the development of our stories of the hero. From historical data we know that Airlanga crossed over from Bali to Java and established his dynasty there. The various versions of the Panji romance agree in saying that the immediate parents of the hero and the heroine were descended from a divine ancestor and came from celestial abodes. By the time the stories took shape, Airlanga, the historical ancestor, must have become a far-off memory, his renown still remaining comparatively fresh that he became deified. INAO, Rama II's version, moreover, relates that the mothers of the hero and heroine were princesses of Manya, an older state than the four kingdoms of these descendants of the "Divine Race". A third sister married a prince outside the "Divine Race" and remained ruling in Manya. This state, sometimes called Manyapa-et, is obviously meant to be Madjapahit, which was really later than the four kingdoms which are considered contemporaneous in most versions. What makes this version of Ari Nagara interesting is the fact that instead of Manya it has Bali for this "older state". This variation therefore fits in admirably with historical data.

As my allotted space is limited, I cannot give here summaries of the Siamese versions for even the shortest summaries would take up too much room. I shall make instead a comparative analysis of the two Siamese stories of Dalang and Inao, at times drawing analogies from the version of Ari Nagara, the identity of the origin of which presents a problem and is in any case worth a study for it seems to be the pattern after which the popular Siamese story of Inao has been shaped. I shall refer to these works by abbreviations, thus: D. for DALANG, I. for INAO, *indicating differences in the latter story by adding a., thus Ia, for the* Ayudhya version and b., thus Ib, for that of Bangkok, or of Rama II. The version of Ari Nagara will be AN.

The setting in both Siamese stories is taken from contemporary local conditions. It was by such a characteristic that Ia was identified from its adoption of the Royal Palace of

Ayudhya as the model of its royal palace of each of the four scions of the "Divine Race".

The Brother Monarchs were descended from the Great Ancestor, Patarakala, doubtless referring to the monarch who is now known as Airlanga though appearing here in a deified role. He it was who partitioned his kingdom into four states, Kurepan, Daha, Kalang and Sinhasari. No mention is made of a sister who became a nun, or in fact any sister at all. Two of the brothers married daughters of an older state (Manya in I, Bali in AN). A third sister remained in her native state, married to a prince from outside the "Divine Race", the latter becoming ruler of his wife's state and had a daughter (Čintara in I, Kusuma Čintara in AN).

Their offsprings. The eldest of the brothers (named Yangyang Udarat in Ia), King of Kurepan had 1. a son by the fourth queen (named Karatipati in Ib, Karajjapati in Ia); 2. a son, Inao, by the first queen; 3. a son, Čarang Kanangloh, by the second (D & AN): and a daughter, by the first queen (Wiyada in I, Kusumakaloh in AN).

The next brother (named Prakawan in Ia), ruler of Daha, had a daughter (Busba Kaloh in D, Busba in I, Čintara Kiran Kaloh in AN) and a son (Siyatra in I and Karamajaya or Kunungsari in AN). D. gives him as his second child a daughter, Busbawilis; whilst AN has further a daughter by the fourth queen named Andarika. With the exception of the last all were by the first queen.

The third brother (named Engyang Ningrat in Ia), ruler of Kalang, had a daughter by the first queen (Busba Agong in D, Skara Ningrat in I and Čintara Kiran Kaloh in AN) and a second daughter who does not have a prominent role as well as a son by a minor queen in D, named Sirikan who became a villain.

The fourth and youngest brother (Mautri Agong in Ia), ruler of Sinhasari, had a son by the first queen (Čintaravanna in D, Suranagong in I and Virasakam in AN), and a daughter, named Čindasari (I, though AN has Sawangkartika), but D has instead a son called also Cindasari by the second queen however.

Inao's first amour. All three agree that the hero was not interested in the Princess of Daha whom he had never seen but had been betrothed for him. DALANG attributes this to his being too deeply attached to a country girl he had met on a hunt, called "Busba of the Farm", who was murdered by her father-in-law's orders. In INAO he was sent to assist at the cremation of the Queen of Manya's mother and became attracted to the Princess Čintara (daughter of the King of Bali in AN).

Inao's first adventure. According to D., the hero disconsolate over the death of his beloved assumed a forester's disguise under the name of Panji and started on an aimless life of wandering. Youth however must have its fling; and after an interval Panji met the Chief of Pančarakan taking his daughter out for a pleasure-trip in the woods; carried away the daughter; but finally made it up with the father, to whose capital he accompanied them subduing on the way some other states.

According to I., the hero, stealing a second trip to Manya as a forester named Panji met the Chief of Bussina on a honeymoon tour. His page got involved in a petty quarrel which led to general hostilities between the parties; the Chief was killed; his wife committed

suicide and the Chief's two brothers who accompanied him surrendered giving him their daughters and a son, Sankamarata, who was adopted by Panji and became in time to come his closest confidant.

According to AN the hero, also travelling again to visit his paramour in Bali, met, fought and killed certain Chiefs whose daughters became his wives.

Inao in Daha. All three versions agree in bringing Panji to Daha but under different circumstances. D., on the one hand, has him go through a shipwreck and an adventure in the land of virgins from which he escaped in straitened circumstances, finally straying into Daha, unknown to all. There, under the disguise of a *dalang*, he obtained a glimpse of Busba and fell in love with her at first sight. Then when a suitor appeared to claim the Princess whose hand had been promised him by the King of Daha, still smarting under the recent rejection by Inao, the suitor was stabbed to death by an unknown person who later turned out to be Panji himself.

AN and I, on the other hand, introduce suitors for the heroine's hand on account of Inao's recent rejection of the Princess. In AN, it is the bachelor Chief of Mataon whose suit the King of Daha turned down straight away, with the result that he invaded Daha but was killed by Inao who had been sent to help his uncle. In I., the King of Daha accepted the first suitor, the Chief of Caraka, but another request from the King of Kamangkuning on behalf of his son was turned down because it came too late. The Chief invaded Daha and was defeated and killed on the battlefield by Inao. Inao then paid his respects to his uncle, the King of Daha, where he saw Busba for the first time and fell in love with her at first sight. While in AN he adopted the *dalang*'s disguise to gain access to her presence and plead his cause and thus won her love, Rama II discards this scene altogether and thus maintained the Princess' honour by not letting her reciprocate his love. Here follows, in Ib (the episode does not exist in the fragments left of Ia), an episode of great poetical beauty depicting idyllic scenes of the Court's pilgrimage of thanksgiving for the recent victory to the deities of Mount Wilis, through which period the hero lived in a high hope of somehow regaining his lost prize in Busba, glimpses of whom he could now get much more easily than in the rigid Court-life at Daha. Such an idyll however came to an abrupt end with the return of the King to Daha and the preparations for the nuptials of the Princess with Caraka. These latter were cut short by a simulated invasion, staged by Inao, during which Daha was set on fire and Busba carried away by Inao to a cave where their differences were made up.

The heroine's disappearance and transformation. All three versions agree about Busba disappearing at this juncture by a miracle, but bring it about in different manners. In D. the death of her suitor necessitated Busba's committing self-immolation on his funereal pyre. From this she was lifted out of the sight of all by the Great Ancestor, who, placing her and two personal attendants on a mountain, transformed her into a man's state to be henceforth known as Misa Pramangkuning. In AN the Great Ancestor caused them to quarrel and separate. After vicissitudes she assumed a man's disguise under the name of Jarang Kalian. In I. she was carried away in a storm from the neighbourhood of the cave where Inao had hidden her, and swept up with her two personal attendants over the top of a mountain and

transformed into a man named Misa Unakan, with the curse that she would not recognise Inao till four brethren should meet in one place.

The Foresters. All versions relate a very long series of wanderings in search of one another. Besides the hero and heroine, the cousins and brothers also made independant searches. Their searches bear identical characteristics in that each travels as a forester under a new name which is often changed and changed till one finds it hard to keep count of them. As foresters at the head of their armies they go about challenging whichever state they happen to pass and exact retributions in the form of the sons and daughters of the vanquished Chief. Meanwhile they would be trying to gather information about the object of their search. The tale of these searches and the disguises they assumed differ with each version. The Princes including the heroine in a man's form finally assembled in Kalang—without knowing one another at first—and gradually recognised or identified one another. The heroine, on recognising her beloved and freed of the curse became her normal self. Fearing complications which would involve her honour she fled to a mountain nunnery and joined the sisterhood, in which capacity she was eventually recognised by Panji who tracked her to the lair. Thus is the main theme for this part, each version having its variation of details. All versions ended primarily with this climax, called the *renunciation of the nun's vow*, but both Ia and Ib had additional episodes added on later, that of Ia not being found though said to have been written by Rama I. The additional episode of Ib is not believed to have been written by its author, Rama II, and is clearly inferior in point of literary technique and plot, which contains a series of palace intrigues.

The above is a very abbreviated analysis of the lengthy tales of adventures. They all bear evidences of mutilation through oral tradition; for not only are names mixed up, such as Čindasari being the son of the King of Sinhasari in D whilst it is his daughter in I, but features also of the stories are very much mixed up. In I for instance one of the best known of episodes is that of the abduction of Busba by Inao to a cave near Daha. In D, however, it is the daughter of the King of Kalang and in many Malay versions Unakan, the disguised daughter of the King of Kurepan, who was carried off by a demon to the cave Sela Mangleng, which is actually in the neighbourhood of Daha: to reach it from this town it took me only about 40 minutes by motor-car.

On the whole students of the Panji saga will find no difficulty in recognising that the story of DALANG, with its episode of the country-girl corresponding with the Martalangoe of the Hikayat Panji Smirang of the *Panjiverhalen,* referred to above, and the importance it gives to the episodes of the exhibitor of the shadow-play, bears great affinity with the average Javanese version. INAO, however, and its pattern, the version of Ari Nagara, seems to have but little affinity with any of the versions studied by Dr Poerbatjaraka.

With regard to chronology, we shall have to work from the following data. Dr Poerbatjaraka, commenting (in *Panjiverhalen,* p. 362 sqq.) on the limits of 1277-1400 A.D. set by Dr C. C. Berg for the distribution of Panji tales over the Archipelago, said that the early limit based upon the Pamalayoe was too premature, for then memories of Sinhasari must have been still vivid. He was therefore inclined to adopt a later date than 1277. For our

purposes, however, we are concerned more with the latter date. Suppose therefore that we start with 1400 as the latest date for he distribution of these tales, which came over to the Malay Peninsula. According to Dr R. O. Winstedt (J.R.A.S., Mal. br. Vol. XVII, pt 3, p. 38) "the earliest Malay redactions must have been known in the fifteenth century in Malacca or they could not have coloured the *Malay Annals* with its tales of Chandra Kirana and Sultan Mansur.... What centre, indeed, more likely for their translation from the Javanese than that cosmopolitan port with Sultan Mansur married to a Javanese woman, ...? A port with a colony of bilingual locally born Javanese in touch not only with their country of origin but with the new Islamic learning?"

From Malacca therefore the stories came into Siam. There is no written record of these Islamic works coming in or being translated before the XVIIIth century. Prince Damrong, in his *History of Inao,* stated that Princesses Kuntol and Mongkut, daughters of "His Majesty of the Sublime Urn", otherwise King Boromakos (1732-1758) had Malay maids, descendants of Pattani prisoners of war, and these related to their mistresses the two stories of DALANG and INAO. Each princess composed one of the stories into a *lakon* for presentation on the stage. The Prince did not say where this tradition came from but it is to be presumed that it was oral. A similar tradition without however taking DALANG into account is related by Bastian (*Die Völker des Östlichen Asiens,* IV, p. 346) that the epic INAO was brought in by Yaiyavo, a Moslem woman, to Ayudhya and there translated from Javanese into Siamese by Prince Chao Kasat-kri for presentation on the stage. That the learned doctor, usually an accurate observer, should have confused the sex of the writer of the Siamese version is not to be wondered at since in Siamese *chao* is used for both prince and princess. The word *kasatri,* too, often pronounced *kasatkri* among the more illiterate element, might have been a name corresponding to some such rendering as *Regina* used as a name or might have been used to qualify the word *chao* to make clear its feminine form. A third tradition explains and confirms some of the above speculations. There is an epilogue, by an anonymous writer, to Rama II's INAO, saying that this story of INAO was in olden times composed by Chao Stri—"a princess"—but it got scattered and lost. His Majesty has therefore written this for the entertainment of the people.

Putting therefore these three traditions together, I should be inclined to believe that our version, the INAO as adapted by Rama II at any rate, already existed in Ayudhya not later than the middle of the XVIIIth century in the reign of "His Majesty of the Sublime Urn". This conjecture would be strengthened by the following fact. There is a treatise on political wisdom called *sibsongliam,* that is the *Duodecagon,* which bears a preface stating that a certain Khun Kalyabodi, which happens to be a title limited to Islamic officials of the old Harbour Department, translated it from the Malay in 1753. This seems to indicate that there must have been quite an influx of Islamic works about that time and would support the contention that our romance might have been one of them.

THE DREAMS OF THE EMPEROR HSÜAN-TSUNG

by

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The struggle for priority between Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism in China lasted for many centuries. Ever since the Han dynasty Confucianism had a strongly privileged position: it enjoyed official sanction and the institutions of the state were permeated with Confucian idealism. Neither for Buddhism nor for Taoism was it easy to infringe upon this privileged position. Yet at various times sometimes the one, then the other of these two religions succeeded in winning the Imperial patronage to such a degree that for a brief period they threatened the very stronghold in which Confucianism was entrenched. At no time Taoism was more successful than in the reign of Hsüan-tsung (713-756). It was the fortuitous circumstance that the surname of the house that had founded the T'ang dynasty, Li 李, was identical with that of the reputed author of the famous Tao-tê-ching, which powerfully aided the efforts of the Taoist church to secure a privileged position at Court. Lao-tze, regarded at the same time as the First Ancestor and honoured as a god, became the means whereby the dynasty could deify itself.

No sooner was the dynasty established when, in 620, a vision was reported [1]) in which an "old man" had revealed himself as the first ancestor of the dynasty. An official temple(廟) was established on that site, and, although it is not stated in so many words, the "old man" was evidently identified with Lao-tze ("the old Master"). In 666 Lao-tze was posthumously awarded the title of T'ai-shang Hsüan-yüan Huang-ti. 太上玄元皇帝 "The Most High Emperor of the Mysterious Origin". During the long reign of the Empress Wu, when Buddhism rose to ascendancy, Lao-tze was (in 689) temporarily deprived of this title, but as soon as this Empress had died (705), the title was restored [2]). As to the respective position of Buddhism and Taoism, while on the 15th of the 1st moon of the 11th year of Chêng-kuan (Febr. 15th 637) precedence was given to Taoism [3]), on the 24th day of the 8th moon of the 1st year of Shang-yüan (Sept. 29th 674) it was decreed that in all public and private

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1) *T'ang Hui-yao* 唐會要, ch. 50, p. 1a.
2) *Ibid.* 3) *Op. cit.*, ch. 49, p. 4a.

religious gatherings Taoist monks should occupy the east (i.e. the higher) place, and Buddhist monks and nuns the west place without precedence for either. During the reign of the Empress Wu, on the 2nd day of the 4th moon of the 2nd year of T'ien-shou (May 5th 691) Buddhism was given precedence over Taoism, but soon after the death of that Empress, on the 8th day of the 4th moon of the 2nd year of Ching-yün (April 30th 711) the monks and nuns of the two religions were again proclaimed to be of equal status [4]. An Imperial Edict of the day *kuei-wei* of the 12th moon of the 1st year of that same period (Dec. 31st 710) even ordered that the eighth and ninth princesses should in the first moon of the following year (Jan. 24th-Febr. 21st 711) be consecrated as Taoist nuns [5].

This same Edict for the first time stated very clearly that the Emperor of the Mysterious Origin (Lao-tze) was "Our First Ancestor" [6]. By an Edict [7] of the day *chi-ch'ou* of the 1st moon of the 10th year of K'ai-yüan (Jan. 22nd-Febr. 20th 722) at the two capitals (Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang) as well as in each prefecture, official temples were established for the Emperor of the Mysterious Origin and, moreover, a College for Worshipping the Mysterious 崇玄學 was founded, where the *Tao-tê-ching* and other Taoist Classics were to be studied. The students of this College were annually to be recommended and conducted to the capital "according to the precedent of (those who studied) the Confucian classics" [8]. In the 1st moon of the 20th year (Febr. 1st-28th 732) an Edict ordered that a copy of the *Tao-tê-ching* should be preserved in every household, and that in the examinations certain papers on the *Shu-ching* and the *Lun-yü* should be replaced by essays on Lao-tze [9]. For the

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4) *Ibid.*

5) *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* 册府元龜, ch. 53, p. 9b.

6) In the Imperial Genealogy, *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書, ch. 70, p. 1b, Lao-tze is placed in the list of ancestors.

7) *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei*, ch. 53, p 10b. The cyclical date is wrong, for this moon has no day *chi-ch'ou*. For a discussion of the date of this Edict see *infra*. Curiously the priests of these Taoist temples are in this Edict designated by the Buddhist term *seng* 僧 (*saṅgha*), but the corresponding text in *Chiu T'ang-shu*, ch. 4, p. 11a has 生(徒) "students' (of the college).

8) 准明經例 ; this refers to one of the categories of the examinations.

9) *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei*, ch. 53, pp. 12b-13a. The text of the *Tao-tê-ching* was commented by the Emperor himself, cf. *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei*, ch. 53, p. 16a under the date *kuei-wei* of the 3rd moon of the 23rd year (April 24th 735) (R. des ROTOURS, *Le traité des examens*, p. 171 by mistake writes "troisième année"). It was engraved in stone in the Taoist temple Lung-hsing-kuan 龍興觀 both at Yi-hsien 易縣 and at Hsing-chou 邢州 (*i.e.* Shun-tê-fu 順德府) in Hopei province and is reproduced in the magnificent *Ku-pên Tao-tê-ching chiao-k'an* 古本道德經校刊 published by the Archaeological Institute of the National Academy of Peip'ing in 1936. Both inscriptions begin with the Edict by which the text was published, dated the 14th day of the 12th moon of the 20th year of K'ai-yüan (Jan. 4th 733). Colophons at the end show that the one at Yi-hsien was erected on a date corresponding to Nov. 23rd 738, and that at Hsing-chou on Nov. 12th 739. Cf. the Plate.

first time the Taoist classics were here placed on a par with the Confucian classics which so far had been the only ones to procure official preferment.

Miraculous manifestations however were necessary in order to strengthen still further the position of Taoism. It is here that the dreams of the Emperor began to play their part. In the 12th moon of the 27th year (Jan. 4th-Febr. 1st 740) the Ministers Niu-Hsien-k'o[10]) and Li Lin-fu[11]) memorialised as follows: "We have seen that the Heir-Apparent in the 11th moon has sent a report to the Bureau of Historiography recounting how Your Majesty on the 5th day of the previous moon intended to make a tour north of the Wei river. That night Your Majesty dreamt that the Emperor of the Mysterious Origin said to him: 'To-morrow You intend to travel in the north, but the (local) divinity not being present, it would be advisable to cancel this enterprize. In the fifth watch there will be a token (as proof). Moreover You have already reigned many years, why should You necessarily (select) this day?" Your Majesty thereupon stopped in the second watch, and in the fifth watch a violent wind arose indeed which only subsided at sunset".

The Ministers requested not only to have this event recorded in the Bureau of Historiography but also to have it published in the capital and the provinces, and the Emperor agreed[12]).

Not long after this the Emperor had another important dream, which looks like an imitation of the famous dream of Ming-ti of the Later Han dynasty which preceded the introduction of Buddhism. It will be recalled how on that occasion the Emperor saw a statue of Buddha which afterwards was discovered in India. Now the Emperor sees in his dream a statue of Lao-tze which is also duly found. Since it is the most important one of the three dreams recorded, and is given in the greatest detail, I shall translate the relevant texts in full. There is a difficulty about the exact date. In the *Chiu T'ang-shu*, the Old History of the T'ang Dynasty, in the section on Ritual Institutions, the event is recorded in the 4th leapmoon of the 20th of K'ai-yüan[13]), which is an impossible date, since that year did not have a leapmoon at all. The same entry is found in the *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* under the 4th moon of the 10th year (722). In both texts it follows immediately upon the mention of the Imperial Edict concerning the establishment of official temples for the Emperor of the Mysterious Origin and of an official College, referred to above, which in the *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* is dated on the impossible day *chi-ch'ou* of the 1st moon of the 10th year, while the *Chiu T'ang-shu* dates it in the 20th year. In the Annals[14]) of the *Chiu T'ang-shu* however this later notice is dated on the day *ting-ch'ou* of the 1st moon of the 29th year, while the former entry is lacking. There being no such cyclical day in that moon, this date is im-

10) GILES, *Biogr. Dict.* 1571, *Chung-kuo-jên-ming-ta-tz'e-tien*, p. 73; died 742.

11) GILES, *Biogr. Dict.* 1170, *Chung-kuo-jên-ming-ta-tz'e-tien*, p. 400; died 752.

12) *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei*, ch. 53, pp. 17a-18a.

13) *Chiu T'ang-shu* 舊唐書, *Li-yi-chih* 禮儀志, ch. 4, p. 11a (*Po-na* ed.). It should be noted that the 29th year did have a 4th leapmoon.

14) Ch. 9, p. 4a.

TOP OF THREE SIDES OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE OCTAGONAL PILLAR AT YI-HSIEN, CONTAINING THE TEXT OF THE *TAO-TÊ-CHING* WITH THE IMPERIAL COMMENTARY.

The large characters mean: "The Tao-tê-ching of the Most High Emperor of the Mysterious Origin commented by the Emperor of Spiritual Prowess of the K'ai-yuan (period) of the Great T'ang (Dynasty)". The small characters are the Imperial Edict of Jan. 4th 73[illegible]. (From the Ku-pên Tao-tê-ching chiao-k'an)

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p. 105, last cutting line should be read:

"Ever since We mounted the Throne, for thirty years, did We not always rise at the beginning of the fourth watch to don Our robes, to perform the ceremonies (of worship) and to appear in audience before the venerable countenance (of Our ancestor)? This was in order to beseech blessings for the multitude of living beings. Now, ten days ago, after the ceremonial audience was all over, before the colours of the dawn had become clearly differentiated, We were sitting reverently, composing Our mind, when it seemed as if We "dozed" [18]), and suddenly in a dream We beheld a true appearance which said:

possible. Moreover, although the Edict of the 1st moon of the 20th year, quoted above, which is given by the *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei,* clearly shows that for the examinations the *Tao-tê-ching* was admitted in that year, not until the 5th moon of the 28th year did the Emperor indicate a particular piece of his property in Lo-yang as suitable for being converted into an official temple for the Emperor of the Mysterious Origin and for the College [15]. The Treatise on Examinations 選舉志 (*Hsin T'ang-shu,* ch. 44, p. 4a) dates the actual founding of the College in the 29th year [16]. To complicate matters still further, the *T'ang Hui-yao* [17]) reports the establishment of the temple on this particular site, as well as one in Ch'ang-an, and the details of the founding of the College, under the 7th day of the 1st moon of the 1st year T'ien-pao (Febr. 16th 742). The dream however, without any connection with the founding of the temples and the College, is given in great detail by the *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* [18]) under the fourth moon of the 29th year, and in it the Emperor is made to say that he had reigned for thirty years. This therefore is the true date of the dream. The first dream was in the 27th year, and the third, to be mentioned presently, in the 5th moon of the 29th, while all this was capped, in the following year, by a vision of an official, T'ien Wen-hsiu 田文秀, who saw Lao-tze in the street, which led to the finding of a Taoist classic and the change of the Title of Reign. The Taoist agitation must therefore have reached its apex in these few years.

The account in the *Chiu T'ang-shu,* 4th leapmoon of the 20th year, as well as in the *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei,* 4th moon of the 10th year, is as follows:

"Hsüan-tsung dreamt that at the foot of the hills south of the capital [18a]) there was an image of a Celestial Venerable One (T'ien-tsun 天尊). They searched and found one at the side of a storied temple at Chou-chih 盩厔".

The story under the 4th moon in the 29th year runs more fully:

"In the 4th moon, after (the water in) the clepsydra had fallen, the Emperor said to the *Shih-chung* Niu Hsien-k'o and the *Chung-shu-ling* Li Lin-fu:

"Ever since We mounted the Throne, for thirty years, did We not always rise at the beginning of the fourth watch to don Our robes, to receive in state and to compose Our countenance in a dignified expression? This was in order to beseech blessings for the multitude of living beings. Now, ten days ago, after the ceremonial audience was all over, before the colours of the dawn had become clearly differentiated, We were sitting reverently, composing Our mind, when it seemed as if We "dozed" [19]), and suddenly in a dream We beheld a true appearance which said:

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15) *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei,* ch. 53, p. 18a.

16) DES ROTOURS, *op. cit.,* pp. 172-173 accepts this date. Examinations, conducted by the Emperor personally, are reported for the 9th moon of the 29th year; cf. *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei,* ch. 53, p. 22b. In the *Hsin T'ang-shu,* ch. 5, p. 12b they are placed in the 5th moon.

17) Ch. 50, p. 2a. 18) Ch. 53, pp. 19a-20b.

18a) The *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* says: "in the Chung-nan hills", which are south of the capital.

19) 假寐. *Shih-ching,* Legge p. 357: "to go to sleep fully dressed". Cf. *Tz'e-hai.*

since the world began the like of it has never been recorded. We request that (the event) be published in the capital and abroad and that it may be registered in the records".

The Emperor replied in a Edict, written with his own hand: "The true quality of dreams is to enter into relations with the spirits. That, forsooth, the sacred countenance responded sincerely (to the vision in my dream), how should that be due to any attainment of Our virtue, but (on the contrary) it is the operation of the Great Tao. On beholding again the Divine Spirit, its words are still ringing in my ears; they will ensure a happy heritage that will increase with the generations. We at first announced (that) a Traveling Palace (i.e. Temple) (should be erected) but then We gave it a place inside the Inner Halls (of the Imperial Palace) and by combining (these two ideas) the great felicity will abide with Us forever. From Our personal examination We find that the *Tao-tê-ching* regards compassion as a precious thing [23]), and it is (therefore) proper compassionately to rear the people so that they receive and respond to the divine illumination. You, Ministers and Members of the Imperial Clan should be with Us of one mind; who would dare to be last in wishing to extol the felicitous token!"

In comparing the two accounts, it should be noted that the former one describes the site as being "south" of the capital, whereas the latter calls it "southwest". Now Chou-chih, in fact, lies almost due West of Ch'ang-an. The question may be asked: why should any statue of Lao-tze have been found just there? The *Shui-ching-chu* 水經注 [24]) however reports that in his place there was a tomb of Lao-tze. In this same locality was also supposed to be the house of the Warden of the Pass to whom Lao-tze had handed his *Tao-tê-ching* when, mounted on an ox, he had ridden out of the Western Pass, never to return. This tradition contradicts of course the possibility of his having been buried in China, but in *Chuang-tze* on the other hand it is reported [25]) that many people sat wailing upon the death of Lao-tze. There would therefore be sufficient support in tradition to have somewhere a tomb of Lao-tze, and, if a Taoist image had to be found for the Emperor in the neigbourhood of Ch'ang-an, this place was the most likely one. Father L. Wieger [26]) connects the finding of the statue at this locality with the fact that, in the same place, forty years later the famous Nestorian stele was erected but, where no sources are quoted, it is difficult to accept the bold theory of Nestorian influences. The expression *T'ien-tsun* "Celestial Venerable One" is of course a Buddhistic term: in the *Fa-yüan-chu-lin* 法苑珠林 [27]) it is defined as a term for Buddha used in Buddhist sutras. The term was adopted by Taoism for its own divinities.

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body of Buddha. The marks on a Buddha's *sambhogakāya* number 84.000. 相 is interpreted as larger signs, 好 as smaller, but as they are also interpreted as marks that please, 好 may be a euphemism for 號 (SOOTHILL and HODOUS, *Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, pp. 309-310). Cf. also *Tz'e-hai* s.v.

23) *Tao-tê-ching*, ch. 67.

24) Quoted in the *Ch'ang-an-chih* 長安志, ch. 18, p. 10b

25) *Chuang-tze*, ch. III, Legge p. 201.

26) *Histoire des croyances religieuses et des opinions philosophiques*, p. 543.

27) Ch. 69, p. 3a (*Ssŭ-pu-ts'ung-k'an* ed.), cf. SOOTHILL and HODOUS, p. 145.

"I am thy distant ancestor. My statue, a little over three feet high, is (at a place) more than one hundred *li* southwest of the capital. None of the people of this time knows how many years and generations (it has been there). If thou however sendest an emissary to search for it, then naturally I shall respond by being found. Thy (memory) will happily be transmitted for ten thousand generations, and thou wilt enjoy felicity without end. I myself have calculated the right moment at which thou and I should meet in the Hsing-ch'ing Palace. Thou deservest to be greatly congratulated that I did not yet proceed [20])". When these words were finished, We awoke, and (even) afterwards there was a brilliance as if We saw something.

We at once despatched an emissary and at the same time We gave orders to the Taoist priests successively to search for it (in places) southwest of the capital. And indeed in the prefecture of Chou-chih south-east of a storied temple, on the slope of a hill, they discovered the true appearance. Yesterday it has been received (in the Palace) and it has been placed in the Ta-t ung Hall of the Hsing-ch'ing Palace. Gazing at it (We found) that it was not in the least different from (what We had seen) in Our dream. You, Ministers, should go in and view it."

Niu Hsien-k'o and Li Lin-fu knelt down and congratulated the Emperor, saying:

"Now the Great Sage of the Mysterious Origin has descended and revealed his true countenance, the proof of the miraculous response is a corollary to Your Majesty's intelligent virtue.

Your Majesty, by honouring the Tao of utter verity and worshipping the source of purity and tranquillity, has always in a respectful and sincere manner implored blessings for the multitude of living beings. Therefore (Your Majesty) obtained (the favour) that this true countenance entered into your dream and the Illustrious Ancestor gave a token, and finding it (on the site) southwest (of the capital) it truly corresponded with the dream. Moreover the Hsing-ch'ing Palace is the old residence of the Diving Dragon; that for the prosperity of the Imperial heritage on this spot was announced its (proper) time, accords with the auspicious name (of this place). That it now has descended in the Purple Enclosure and occupies the Imperial Dwelling, opens up unending happiness and may be regarded as a sign of great felicity.

That Your Majesty consequently has set aside a Main Hall to be used as Hall (for the Reading of) the Law [21]) that is dignified and reverent, and respectful to the utmost, and such an extraordinary proper ritual conduct will cause the ten thousand blessings to gather all without exception, and to spread to the millions so that they may share in the felicity. What joy was it for Us Ministers to go personally to gaze (at the image) and to worship; for describing the naturalness and divine marks [22]) it seems to Us that words fail utterly. Ever

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20) The meaning seems to be that Lao-tze waited for the Emperor Hsüan-tsung to be on the throne before his statue went to its proper place in the Palace

21) 法堂, a Buddhistic term for the principal hall of a temple, especially in the Ch'an sect.

22) 相好 *Lakṣaṇa-vyañjana;* the thirty-two 相 or marks and the eighty 好 or signs on the physical

A third dream, soon after, made the worship of Lao-tze still more secure. On the day *keng-hsü* of the fifth moon of the same year (June 18th 741) the Emperor dreamt [28]) that the Emperor of the Mysterious Origin announced a period of peace. He ordered to have the true countenance painted and to distribute (copies of this painting) over the Empire. In reading the *Tao-tê-ching* the zeal should be doubled. Students versed in the *Tao-tê-ching*, *Chuang-tze*, *Lieh-tze* and *Wen-tze* should be specially recommended to be examined by the Emperor and personally rewarded.

Thus a series of dreams played their part in the process of the deification of Lao-tze. They prepared the Emperor for the vision of T'ien Wen-hsiu in the following year, which led him to change the Title of Reign. That subject, however, must be reserved for another occasion [29]).

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28) *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei*, ch. 53, p. 20b-21b; also, without cyclical date, in *T'ang Hui-yao*, ch. 50, p. 1b.

29) For further apparitions of Lao-tze just before and during the T'ang dynasty cf. also father H. DORÉ, *Recherches sur les superstitions des Chinois*, vol. XVIII, pp. 83-93.

THE SANSKRIT 'SUFFIX *-TITHA*'

by

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1. In Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar* 1242e we read:

> Apparently by false etymology with *tatithá* ['the so-many-eth,' from *táti* 'so many' plus ordinal suffix *-tha*] etc. (above, d), the quasi-ordinals *tāvatitha, yāvatitha, bahutitha* are made, as if with a suffix *titha* (also *katititha*, late, for *katithá*); and, it is said, from other words meaning 'a number' or 'collection', as *gaṇa, pūga, saṃgha*; but none such are quotable.

2. Whitney's inclusion of *tāvatitha* and *yāvatitha* was a slip; these words, being derived from the stems *tāvat-* and *yāvat-*, contain suffixal *-itha-*, as stated in Pāṇini 5.2.53, not *-titha-*. They do not concern the subject of this paper.

3. Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite* p. 264 infra, speaks of:

> Noms marquant le rang, à attraction ordinale: ... *itha-* dans *yāvatitha-* ... *tāvatitha-* ... *etāvatitha-* MW.; d'où *titha-* après *bahu*° P. [= Pāṇini] cl. [= classical Skt.] *kati*° BālaR[āmāyaṇa] *gaṇa*° P. *pūga*° P. *saṃgha*° P. Śiś[upālavadha]; variante récente en *tithi-* RS. [= R. Schmidt, *Nachträge* to pw, see § 17 below] après *pūga*° *bahu*° *saṃgha*°.

4. In essence, and except for the error in Whitney noted above, Whitney and Renou agree in regarding e.g. *bahu-titha* as containing a 'suffix *titha*,' derived by the process which Maurice Bloomfield used to describe as 'clipping' from stems in the ordinal numeral suffix (*i*)*tha* after *-t-*.

5. This paper proposes to demonstrate that, on the contrary, *bahu-titha* is an exocentric (bahuvrīhi) compound of *bahu* 'many' and *tithi* '(lunar) day,' and means 'of many days.' One other such form, *kati-titha*, similarly means 'of a certain number of (lunar) days.' A few other forms in *-titha* are authorized in Pāṇini, and one of them occurs once in literature, probably artificially (i.e. on the basis of the grammatical rule). If genuine, these other forms are to be analyzed similarly to *bahu-titha.*

6. The only familiar and well-established form in *-titha* is *bahu-titha*, on which see Boehtlingk and Roth's lexicon (BR). It is almost always an epithet of *kāla* 'time.' BR cite

a rather considerable number of cases. A single example of such a phrase will do for all: Śakuntalā, Monier Williams 2d ed., vs. 105c (p. 186) = Pischel 2d ed., v.1c *kāle gate bahutithe,* 'when a time of many days has passed.'

7. Twice BR cite the phrase *bahutithe 'hani,* rendered 'viele Tage hindurch.' In both passages, however, a reference to the context will show that the meaning 'on a day of (involving, i.e. after) many days' fits perfectly. The references are Nala 9.12 = Mbh. Crit. ed. 3.58.11, and Mbh. Calc. 1.4323 = Crit. ed. 1.1096* (after 1.101.16).

8. In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa i.16.33 *bahutithaṃ* modifies *tapaḥ.* This means not 'mannichfache Kasteiungen' (BR), but 'penance of (covering, lasting) many days,' i.e. 'long continued.'

9. Particularly striking is the adverb *bahutitham* in Mbh. Calc. 5.7478 = Crit.ed. 5.192.22 *anaśnatī* (Calc. *anaśnānā*) *bahutithaṃ śarīram upaśoṣayat* (Calc. *udaśoṣayat*). BR renders the adverb 'sehr, in hohem Grade,' taking it with the following verb. Instead, it seems obvious that it goes with the participle in its own pāda. Render: 'not eating for many days, she caused her body to wither.'

10. The minor St. Petersburg lexicon (pw) cites *katititha* twice from the Bālarāmāyaṇa (Benares, 1869), alleging that 'with following *cid* or *ca*' it means 'der so und so vielste.' Actually, *cid* does not occur in either passage; the word is followed by *api* in the first, but this *api* cannot be taken as making an indefinite out of an interrogative form; and the *ca* which follows the word in the second passage is also incapable of that interpretation. Boehtlingk himself (BR s.v. *kati*) shows that *kati* is not always interrogative. It is repeatedly used in the sense of 'some, several,' and need not be (tho oftener it is) followed by *cid* when so used. Accordingly, *katititha* may very well mean 'of some (several, a number of) days'; and the context seems to me to make it quite clear that it means precisely that both times.

11. The first passage is Bālar. p. 162, l. 19: *katititbe 'pi ca prayāṇe bhāgīrathyāḥ paraṃ pāraṃ niścitya pracalitāḥ*: 'And also (*api ca*) in a march of some days they proceeded' etc. The other is Bālar. p. 170, l. 1: *tad itthaṃ katitithe ca prayāṇe* (a verse follows, containing the words *nayanapathaṃ athā 'gān narmadā deva teṣāṃ*): 'And so thus, in a march of some days ... the Narmadā came within the range of their sight,' i.e. they reached the N.

12. It will be asked, why do these compoundsend in *-titha,* if as I claim they are derived from *tithi*? The case is like that of *-aṅgula* in certain compounds for *aṅguli* (Pāṇ. 5.4.86), and especially *-rātra,* regularly substituted for *rātri* (Vedic also *rātrī*) 'night' at the end of most compounds (BR s v. *rātra*; Pāṇ. 5.4.87). Indeed, I think it highly likely that *-titha* was substituted for *tithi* at the end of these few compounds precisely on the model of the much commoner *-rātra* for *rātri*; a word for 'day' may easily have been influenced by one for 'night.' To be sure I find no record of any **bahu-rātra* or **kati-rātra* (*katipaya-rātram* 'for several nights' is noted in BR, and *gaṇa-rātram* 'a series of nights' is cited by Schmidt, *Nachträge,* from Thomas, as occurring in the Harṣacarita; cf. *gaṇa titha* below).

13. Pāṇini, however, analyzed *bahu-titha* (in 5.2.52) not as a compound but as containing a suffix *-titha.* To understand his statement we must start with 5.2.48 *tasya pūraṇe*

ḍaṭ: 'The suffix *a* with fem. *ī* (*ḍaṭ*) is added to noun stems in the meaning "making that full or complete (*pūraṇe*)." ' This rule covers the formation of ordinal numerals, as *ekādaśa* 'eleventh' from *ekādaśan* 'eleven' (*-an* being lost by 6.4.143). Exceptions to this general rule are stated in the following sections, of which 5.2.52 says *bahupūgagaṇasaṃghasya tithuk*: 'after the stems *bahu* "much," *pūga* "mass," *gaṇa* "throng," *saṃgha* "crowd," the augment *-tith-* is added (before the suffix *a* in the above meaning).' That is, *bahu-tith-a* means 'making (the "number") "many" complete'; *pūga-tith-a* 'making a "mass" complete,' etc. (We should probably not class such words with what we call 'ordinals' in English, but it will be noted that Pāṇini's understanding of their meaning fits quite well the term—*tasya pūraṇe*, 'making that (number) complete'—which he himself applies to ordinals.)

14. I have said that I believe *bahutitha* (and *katititha*, which Pāṇini does not mention) could be more realistically analyzed as compounds of *bahu* and *-titha* (= *tithi*). As to the other words named in Pāṇini, none of them are recorded in literature, except a single occurrence of *saṃgha-titha* in Māgha's Śiśupālavadha 19.107: *ekeṣuṇā saṃghatithān dviṣo 'bhindad drumān iva*, 'with a single arrow he split his enemies in crowds, like trees.' Mallinātha's comm. says: *saṃghānāṃ pūraṇān saṃghatithān saṃghaśaḥ sthitān ity arthaḥ*, with reference to Pāṇ. 5.2.52. Since it is well established (Capeller, *Bālamāgha*, 1915, p. 187) that Māgha, like other artificial kāvya poets, delighted in showing his learning by utilizing grammatical rules and forms not normally found in Sanskrit literature, there can hardly be any reasonable doubt that this single occurrence is simply and directly taken from Pāṇini.

15. As used by Māgha, it is evident that *saṃgha-titha* cannot be an expression of time, and so cannot be analyzed (at least descriptively) as a compound of *-titha* = *-tithi*. If it (and *pūga-*, *gaṇa-titha*) originally meant '(relating to) a lot of days' (cf. *gaṇa-rātram*, above § 12), Māgha had no such notion of the meaning. This is natural, since he apparently only knew the word from Pāṇini's rule, which does not make such a meaning clear. It should, however, be noted that 'making up (amounting to) much (sc. time),' which is Pāṇini's definition of *bahutitha*, would be a quite sufficient rendition of *bahutithaḥ* (*kālaḥ*); and as we saw the word *bahutitha* is almost limited to use as an epithet of *kāla*, 'time,' and absolutely limited to use in expressions of time. Did Pāṇini know *pūga-*, *gaṇa-*, and *saṃgha-titha* also as epithets of *kāla* 'time'? They might easily have been so used, meaning '(time) of a mass (throng, crowd) of (lunar) days.' Except that they were bahuvrīhis, they would then have been exactly analogous to *gaṇa-rātram* 'a series of nights' which is actually used in the Harṣacarita (see § 12 above), as well as recorded in Hindu lexicons (BR s.v.).

16. It seems likely that if Pāṇini really knew and used these words, they were used in this way, in expressions of time, as *bahu-titha* certainly is used, exclusively, in Sanskrit literature. Otherwise—if Māgha's usage really existed in Pāṇini's time—we should have to suppose that *pūga-*, *gaṇa-*, and *saṃgha-titha* were formed on the pattern of *bahu-titha* in which the original meaning had faded out, so that is was understood as meaning simply 'numerous' or 'abundant.' But this is hard to reconcile with the invariably temporal meaning of *bahu-titha* (as also of *kati-titha*) thruout Sanskrit literature. It is, of course, also possible that Pāṇini actually cited only *bahu-*(*titha*), and that the other three words were added by a

zealous but ignorant, tho imaginative, interpolator. That our text of Pāṇini contains interpolations is certain and well-known.

17. One curious item remains, to complete the history of the Pāṇinian rule 5.2.52. A late and extremely artificial work of kāvya prose (with verses interspersed), the Yaśastilaka of Somadevasūri, contains (as I learned from Schmidt's *Nachträge* to pw) on p. 185, l. 8 and ff. of vol. 2 (Kāvyamālā 70, ed. of 1903) the following, in a description of a city: *surasurabhinidhānam ivai 'vam aparābhir api gaṇatithibhir gṛṣṭibhiḥ pūgatithibhiḥ pareṣṭukābhiḥ saṃghatithibhiḥ samāṃsamīnābhiḥ bahutithibhiḥ suvratābhiḥ...prabhūtam*, 'like the home of the divine Cow-of-Wishes, so it was plentifully supplied with other (cows) also, with cows-that-have-calved-a-single-time in throngs, with cows-that-have-often-calved in masses, with (cows) that-bear-young-every-year in crowds, with numerous (cows) of good disposition....'

18. Now this text is full of words drawn from grammarians and lexicographers. This passage in particular contains e.g. the adjective *samāṃsamīnā* 'bearing young every year,' otherwise known only in Pāṇ. 5.2.12, and the noun *pareṣṭukā*, otherwise known only from Hindu lexicons. It also contains the four adjectives *gaṇatithi, pūgatithi, saṃghatithi*, and *bahutithi*, all meaning evidently nothing but 'numerous' (so the comm., *bahubhiḥ* for all). I doubt if anyone will regard as an accidental coincidence the resemblance between these four words, used in a closely parallel way in the same sentence, and the four forms *bahu-, pūga-, gaṇa-*, and *saṃgha-titha* cited in Pāṇ. 5.2.52. Like *saṃgha-titha* as used by Māgha, there is no application to time in the Yaśast. forms; they must have been understood by the author as the commentary takes them, as meaning 'numerous.'

19. But why do they all end in *-tithi*, when Pāṇini quotes his four words as ending in *-titha* (and this is confirmed by the literary *bahu-titha* and *kati-titha*, above)? If Somadevasūri intended to use the forms prescribed by Pāṇini, why did he make the stems end in *i* instead of *a*? Did he have before him a different grammatical authority (which however must have been extremely close to Pāṇini!) which used that form of the stem? Is it a mere coincidence that Somadevasūri's forms end in precisely the stem which according to my view must be that on which the original compounds were based, and which in the Pāṇinian (and otherwise recorded Sanskrit) forms was changed so as to end in *a* instead of *i*?

20. I do not know the answers to these questions. I certainly do not feel that Somadevasūri's *-tithi* strengthens my theory particularly. On the other hand, it surely does not weaken it. Possibly it has no important bearing at all.

MṚCCHAKAṬIKĀ AND KING LEAR

by

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Fifty years of Indological scholarship opening in 1897 with a translation of Śūdraka's Mṛcchakaṭikā and closing in 1947 with a translation of Viśākhadatta's Mudrārākṣasa—we may interpret these facts by saying that according to Prof. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel's deepest conviction in our University education the study of literature should rank above the study of language—although of course in the study of modern languages the technical linguistic study has a special importance. The study of literature is the aim of all philology, it is in accordance with this idea that I shall use the following pages for the exposition of the structural analysis of dramatic art, based on geometrical-symbolical and pasigraphic methods.

The analysis of the Mṛcchakaṭikā chosen for this purpose might seem superfluous, for indeed H. H. Wilson as early as 1827 gave in the epilogue to his translation a convincing aesthetic appreciation and A. Berriedale Keith summarized in 1924 a century of research in Sanskrit dramaturgy. But as it has been desirable to analyse anew the dramas of the Greeks, because of the insight attained by the present-day dramaturgical theory [1]), the same thing holds good for the Sanskrit plays. And we need not be afraid here of injustice, since psychology, which is the basis of this theory, is a science bearing on man in general and not specially on the Occidental type of man.

Now when we read Wilson's epilogue and look through the table of contents of Keith's work, we are struck by the fact that neither author refers to what we may call a structural analysis of the play, that is to say an examination of how the roles are related to each other, and how the action or the actions are based on these groups of characters. And yet it is only this preliminary research that will give the base for a deeper psychological study of the characters and their emotional experiences (*bhāva*).

We here then start with the remark that the impression (*rasa*) made by a drama or a dramatical narrative is based on the prominence in it of an action or a group of mutually

1) Cf. B. VERHAGEN, *Dramaturgie*. Amsterdam 1927.

connected actions. In order to make clear this idea I will first briefly analyse two narratives, one taken from old-Christian literature, the other from Buddhistic fable lore. I mean the Gospel of St. Matthew and Aryaśūra's Mahābodhi-Jātaka. Both narratives are centred round a spiritual encounter, in the Gospel Jesus is the central hero or as we may call him in this connection the protagonist, whilst Mahābodhi, who was to be the Buddha in a later birth, takes this role in the Jātaka. The antagonists of Jesus are the Pharisees, those of Mahābodhi the heretical ministers of the king, who is Mahābodhi's host. In either case the third or tritagonistic group of roles is formed by the person or persons whom the protagonist and the antagonists in mutual fight try to win for their ideas, the Jews on the one side and the Hindu king with his court on the other.

The plot follows logically from this simple relation between these three persons or groups of persons. In both narratives this plot has the shape of an arch with an ascending and a descending portion. We see in the Gospel the action set in motion when Jesus in his Sermon of the Mount attacks the Pharisees in their formalism and hypocrisy, in the Mahābodhi-Jātaka the motoric moment sets in when the king's dog barks furiously at the monk, for the hostility of the ministers and the indifference of the king, caused by their malice, are clearly exposed in the spontaneous unhypocritical barking of the animal. In the Gospel the action reaches its culmination when Jesus meets with Moses and Elia, for by that time he has attained great influence on the people and has found trustworthy helpers to whom he can leave the further carrying out of the divine plan.

In the Jātaka the point of culmination is diametrically opposed in character to the Gospel story in accordance with the satirical character of the narrative; it consists in the almost diabolical influence which the heretical ministers although contradicting each other have on their king. The peripeteia immediately follows the point of culmination in both narratives; it is Jesus' decision to go to Jerusalem, the old royal residence, and it is Mahābodhi's plan to visit the king's court clad in a lion's skin in order to deal with the ministers. The tragical story of the Gospel ends in the crucifixion and a short cathartic prophetical ending, the comical narrative of the Jātaka is the shameful defeat of the ministers and the glorification of the monk-preacher.

The shape of an arch although very common in dramatic literature is not the only possible form. Thus in Sophocles' Electra the plot has in general a rising line of psychical tension.

Sanskrit plays now—with the exception of those which have the character of an epic brought into dialogue form—owing to an obligatory tradition replace the catharsis as we find it in the Occidental tragedy by a happy ending. Thus we can summarily represent their construction by two lines ∨ or by three ∕∨. So in the Sakuntalā the hero and heroine find each other in a complete mutual love; then owing to an offended saint's curse the hero forgets that he is betrothed to the girl and finally by the wonderful discovery of the ring in a fish the hero's memory is restored and the loving couple re-united.

The Mṛcchakaṭikā—an epitome of which is given by Keith—is characterized by its great number of tritagonists and their threefold relation to the main actors. These main

actors are Cārudatta respected as a man and citizen, figuring in the play as protagonist, the brute Saṃsthānaka, brother-in-law to the ruling king, who is afterwards dethroned, figuring as antagonist, and Vasantasenā, the noble-minded hetaera, as object of their love and mutual strife.

Round about these three characters, of whom Vasantasenā is a tritagonist, are arranged three circles of secundary tritagonists.

The innermost of these three circles contains the friends and slaves of the leading characters.

So Cārudatta as a rule is accompanied by his faithful friend Maitreya, who remains constant to Cārudatta in his days of poverty, but is inclined to depreciate Vasantasenā's character on account of her profession.—Vasantasenā herself at first has her slave Madanikā as a companion and on her walk to Cārudatta's house she is accompanied by her viṭa, when alternately they describe in verse the terrors of the thunderstorm. Further Vasantasenā's mother sends twice a servant interfering with her daughter's doing and appears herself at the stage in the law-court scene.

Saṃsthānaka's viṭa tries to keep his pupil and friend morally within bounds; his slave Sthāvaraka gets an influential part in the plot after Saṃsthānaka's murder on Vasantasenā.

The second of the three circles consists of the friends whom Cārudatta and Vasantasenā have gradually won by their helpfulness and benevolence. So Cārudatta helps Āryaka, the leader of a rebellion against the despotic Pālaka. And Vasantasenā wins for a friend a shampooer, formerly servant of Cārudatta in his days of prosperity; owing to his passion for gambling he makes a large debt and takes refuge with Vasantasenā, who pays off his debt for him; driven by the anxieties he has gone through, he becomes a Buddhist mendicant. Further Vasantasenā makes the young brahman Sarvilaka, who is in love with her slave Madanikā, a promotor of her interests and Cārudatta's; this Sarvilaka in order to buy the freedom of Madanikā has commited a burglary, as luck would have it, into Cārudatta's house and there stolen a golden basket which she had entrusted to Cārudatta's keeping; Vasantasenā overheard the conversation between Madanikā and Sarvilaka and then becoming aware that the young man seriously repented his deed, she forgave him and set Madanikā free; the political circumstances, Āryaka's rebellion against king Pālaka, obliged Sarvilaka to help his political friend and postpone his marriage. — In this second circle we may also place Pālaka, the ruling king, who by his position gives Saṃsthānaka an opportunity for his mischief.

The third concentric circle contains auxiliary parts and characters who enter into the

plot by their profession: Candanaka and Vīraka, the two captains of the town's guards, the judge in the law-court scene, the two caṇḍālas in the execution scene.

The semicircles of segment α contain the helpful, those of segment β the harmful tritagonists of Cārudatta.

At the end of the VIIIth act the assistance of the grateful shampooer-monk becomes useful; he finds the body of Vasantasenā, after she had been strangled by Saṃsthānaka and hidden under a heap of leaves; he hears her gasping and restores her to life. In the Xth act, which gives the traditional happy ending to the play, the monk makes his appearance together with Vasantasenā before the two caṇḍālas, who were to execute the verdict pronounced in the preceding act: Cārudatta was to be impaled on the southern cemetery as having killed Vasantasenā according to Saṃsthānaka's accusation. As thus Vasantasenā appears to be alive, the charge made by Saṃsthānaka is proved to be totally false.

In this Xth act also the importance of Śarvilaka and Āryaka in the construction of the play becomes evident. Vasantasenā by the grace of the new king Āryaka and the message of Āryaka's friend Śarvilaka is redeemed from the bonds of her profession and is granted to become the legal wife of Cārudatta, second to the mother of Rohasena.

In act VIII when Saṃsthānaka has strangled Vasantasenā, his viṭa joins the political party of Āryaka, whilst Saṃsthānaka's slave Sthāvaraka becomes rebellious against his master and succeeds in act X in freeing himself from prison and witnessing against the murderer before the two caṇḍālas. Both these parts then belong to segment α. On the other hand, in the law-court scene both Maitreya and Vasantasenā's mother, although in sympathy with Cārudatta, are harmful to his case.

After this classified enumeration of the parts we have to consider the plots as regards the main lines of the structure. Here we have to mention that both Wilson and Keith have imputed lack of unity to the Mṛcchakaṭikā; we find in it, they say, side by side the Cārudatta-plot and the Pālaka-plot.

Although the accusation indeed refers to a certain weakness in the composition, its formulation is not correct. For in Shakespeare's King Lear we likewise find two plots side by side: King Lear with his three daughters and the Earl of Glocester with his two sons; here the two plots are causally interwoven and also psychically more or less parellel, so that they strengthen each other in their effect on the audience. Therefore, the occurence of more than one plot in a play is no objection, provided certain conditions are fulfilled.

The case of the Mṛcchakaṭikā is, however, totally different. The plot in which Pālaka is protagonist and Āryaka antagonist, is scarcely indicated, for Pālaka never appears on the scene. The two plots are neither parallel nor antithetic. Pālaka's affairs are merely causally related to Cārudatta's fate, for Pālaka supports with his royal dignity the crimes of Saṃsthānaka, his brother-in-law, and his enemy and successor Āryaka is the only person who could give to Vasantasenā the right of legal marriage. The fault then is not that there are two actions in the play--if this were a fault!--but that the winning of aiders and abetters takes too large a share of the time of the total performance. For Cārudatta and Vasantasenā only in three acts face each other; in the first act they meet by chance, in the fifth Vasantasenā

visits her lover after previous arrangement; in the tenth she saves him from being executed by her timely arrival on the scene. On the other hand the IInd act is mainly taken up by Vasantasenā winning the favour of the mendicant, of whom we can only surmise that owing to his strolling about from morning till night he might be of use when a crime is committed out in the open. The IIIrd and IVth acts mainly contain the story of Sarvilaka, his burglary, his visits to Madanikā and Vasantasenā, and at the very end of this episode his offering assistance to Āryaka, when an acute listener may guess that a defeat of Pālaka will restrain the criminal behaviour of Saṃsthānaka. One can say with certainty that the interest of the audience in these three acts will swerve away from the drama. It is true that the acts VI, VIII and IX (the mistake in the carriages, the strangling of Vasantasenā and the law-court scene) bear directly on the very theme of the play, but act VII although short tells us again of Āryaka. Altogether we may accuse the author of not balancing the divisions of his drama well against each other, or of not enlightening his public about their importance.

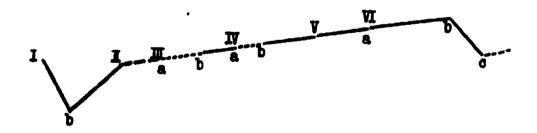
Here it seems proper to say a few words on the theory of *bhāva* and *rasa* as it has been developed by the Hindu theorists. For the main idea of this theory is so important that it is worth getting its place in the Occidental theory of dramaturgy. Let us first observe that actors express emotions, i.e. they depict them in voice and gestures. In order to do this the actor must have fully assimilated the emotion in its complete development during his preceding study. Although in this realization the emotion does not become the actor's own emotion, still he fully experiences it; we might speak here of a reflected or abstract emotion, which as such may be very strong. And when the play fascinates the audience and when the actors play well, this abstract emotion will again be reflected in the mood of the audience.

But the psychical reaction in the audience does not stop there; they add emotions of their own to these abstract emotions. For instance when an auditor enjoys Śūdraka's Mṛcchakaṭikā he will have noticed that Cārudatta has become poor owing to his liberality, that Vasantasenā is abundantly rich, as it is described by Maitreya, that both are noble characters and esteem and love each other. As to Cārudatta he will have realized this by the amorous mood into which this hero is plunged under the influence of music and as to Vasantasenā it is proved by her absentmindedness at the beginning of act II and by her decision to defy a dreadful thunderstorm in order to see her lover. Moreover, judging the whole situation by a Hindu code of morality he will not be perturbed by the fact that Cārudatta is already happily married. Considering all this and emotionally realizing its importance, the auditor wishes and hopes that Cārudatta and Vasantasenā will be happily united in marriage. This hope makes the audience impatient, and they would get terribly shocked in case the life of one of those two lovers were threatened. On the other hand the coarse irresponsible behaviour of Saṃsthānaka towards Vasantasenā will be at first unconsciously answered by a similar aggressive abstract emotion, but immediately afterwards by a conscious emotion of disgust and fear, namely the fear that Saṃsthānaka may at a given moment cause great danger or harm to the two lovers. So the audience is swept by emotions of hope and fear. And it is this ambivalent abstract emotion built of sympathy and antipathy, hope and fear, which brings about the tragical mood (*rasa*) of the Mṛcchakaṭikā.

But the Mṛcchakaṭikā is not only a tragedy with a happy ending, it moreover contains in the IInd and in the IIIrd and IVth acts two long comic episodes. For the shampooer, who had suffered a great loss in gambling and then tried to escape from his persecutors by playing the role of an immovable temple-statue and finally betrayed himself by joining the game which the persecutors began before his eyes, and secondly, the young brahman Sarvilaka, who committed a burglary with the precision and text-obedience of a priest celebrating a sacrifice, afford by their very profanity a most satisfactory comical *rasa* to their audience, and very likely an ancient Hindu audience would enjoy this *rasa*, whereas the comic finesse would utterly escape a European audience.

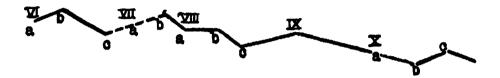
The first task of the structural analysis is to arrange and classify the roles, the second task is to analyse the plot in its temporal development. As an introduction to this second part of the work I gave--I confess, rather hesitatingly—an appreciation of the Hindu *bhāva*- and *rasa*- theory and I showed the comical profane side of the shampooer- and the Sarvilaka-episodes. Now I shall indicate by a rising and sinking line the states of hope and fear through which the audience is swayed whilst enjoying the piece. I limit myself, however, to the main facts even where it would be attractive for me to show how all the scenes given by the author are full of significance either for the character-description or for the internal structure of the plot.

A. *The ascending line of the first part of the drama* (act I-VI partly).

Ia. (Cārudatta's poverty and benevolent character). Saṃsthānaka shows his low taste and evil character and thus acts as a presage for the descending line of the drama, beginning

in VI *b.*--*Ib.* Cārudatta and Vasantasenā meet by chance. Vasantasenā, who had been attacked by Saṃsthānaka entrusts a golden casket to the keeping of Cārudatta: "it was to rob me of them, that the villains I fled from pursued me".—*II.* (Vasantasenā confesses to Madanikā her real motive for entrusting the ornaments to the keeping of Cārudatta). The episode of the shampooer who becomes a mendicant.—*IIIa.* Sarvilaka breaks into Cārudatta's house and steals the golden casket. *b.* Admirable behaviour of Cārudatta's wife.—*IVa.* Sarvilaka wins Madanikā for a wife; he supports the rebellion of Āryaka. *b.* Vasantasenā's great wealth described by Maitreya. Vasantasenā promises to visit Cārudatta.—*V.* Vasantasenā defies a terrible thunderstorm to visit Cārudatta. Dialogue with the viṭa.—*VIa.* Cāru-

datta will send a carriage to fetch Vasantasenā. Scene of Rohasena and his earth cart[2]); general favour Vasantasenā enjoys in Cārudatta's family.—

B. *The descending line of the second part of the drama* (last part of VI—first part of X).

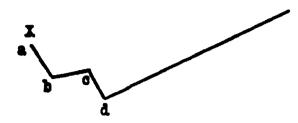
VIb. (Gift of the golden ornaments). Mistake of the two carriages, one belonging to Cārudatta, the other to Saṃsthānaka. Vasantasenā steps into the carriage which is to drive

her to Saṃsthānaka. *c.* Āryaka, who has been liberated by Sarvilaka enters the carriage which drives him to Cārudatta. The examination of the carriage by the two captains of the guards; Āryaka is let through by the help of Candanaka.—*VIIa.* Aryaka is driven to the park Puṣpa-karaṇḍaka, where he meets with Cārudatta; he is allowed to use the same carriage for further flight. *b.* Cārudatta and Maitreya leave the park.—*VIIIa.* Saṃsthānaka meets the mendicant. *b.* Saṃsthānaka, offended and jealous, gets furious with Vasantasenā and strangles her, at least he thinks he does; he covers her with leaves and decides to acuse Cārudatta of the murder. *c.* Saṃsthānaka's viṭa leaves him and joins Aryaka's political party; his servant Sthāvaraka becomes rebellious against him. — The buddhist monk finds Vasantasenā's body and hearing her breathe brings her to life again.—*IX.* The law-court scene. Although the judge notices how Saṃsthānaka gives himself away in his narrative, yet he believes all the superficial indications against Cārudatta: Vasantasenā's mother as an unsatisfactory witness, Cārudatta's lack of self-confidence ("my left eye throbs"); Vīraka, the captain of the guards declares: "the driver said that the carriage belonged to this gentleman Cārudatta and that it carried Vasantasenā to meet him in Puṣpa-karaṇḍaka[3]). Vīraka, sent by the judge, examines the park and finds remnants belonging to a woman, the body itself was carried away by a beast of prey. Maitreya, entering the law-court, in his anger starts fighting with Saṃsthānaka and loses the jewels[4]). Vasantasenā's mother declares the jewels to resemble those of her daughter's. The judge condemns Cārudatta as a criminal brahman. The king, however, sentences him to death.—*Xa.* Cārudatta is taken by two caṇḍālas to the place of execution, the southern cemetery. *b.* The slave Sthāvaraka jumps down from his prison and his fetters are broken; he accuses Saṃsthānaka at the place of execution. *c.* Saṃsthānaka makes light of his words as the man is merely a disgraced and spiteful slave.—

2) The scene of Rohasena is the top of the rising line and has duly given its name to the play. Moreover, the ornaments laid by Vasantasenā in the cart will have a dangerous effect in the law-court scene (act IX).

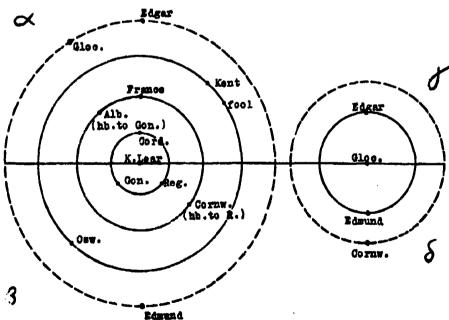
3) Cf. *VIb:* the mistake of the carriages.

4) Cf. act *VIb.*

C. *The happy ending.*

Xd. The monk and Vasantasenā reach the place at the critical moment. Saṃsthānaka flees, but is caught by the caṇḍālas. Śarvilaka has killed king Pālaka; Āryaka succeeds him as king. The new king frees the hetaera Vasantasenā from the bonds of her profession; she marries Cārudatta. Saṃsthānaka is pardoned by Cārudatta: "loose him and let him go". Śarvilaka, advised by Cārudatta, bestows rewards on the promotors of Cārudatta's interests [5]).

May I be allowed to end with the words of praise expressed by two critics;

Wilson: "Overlooking those peculiarities which are clearly referable to age and country, it will probably be admitted that the Toy Cart possesses considerable dramatic merit. ... There is considerable variety of character ... It will possibly be conceded that the sentiments and conceptions of the author are wanting neither in beauty nor in truth"; Keith: "The merits of the Mṛcchakaṭikā are great ... The author is not merely admirable in characterization; he is master of pathos ... The simple and clear diction of the play adds greatly to its liveliness and dramatic effect and the poet has perfect command of the power of pithy and forcible expression".

In order to make comparison easy between the Mṛcchakaṭikā with its single action and Shakespeare's King Lear with its fourfold plot a symbolic summary is given here of the latter play.

The two systems of concentric circles represent the relation of the antagonists and

5) The unpromising introduction of the happy ending is a proof of good dramaturgical workmanship.

tritagonists to the main protagonists. The surrounding broken line circles contain the roles of one system projected into the other.

Segment α contains the abetting tritagonists of King Lear; segment β his antagonists and antagonistic tritagonists; segment γ contains the faithful tritagonist of the protagonist Glocester; segment δ the antagonist and antagonistic tritagonist.—

Deaths occuring on the stage or narrated: in III 7 Cornwall's servant and Cornwall himself; in IV 6 Oswald; in V 3 King Lear, Cordelia, Glocester, Goneril, Regan, Edmund.—Surviving characters: Kent, Albany, Edgar.—Cruel characters: Edmund, Goneril, Regan and Cornwall. Of these Edmund and Goneril always take the initiative; Cornwall is cruel in the execution. Shakespeare does not shrink back from making Cornwall pluck out Glocester's eyes on the stage, but this deed is immediately revenged by his servant killing him in an emotion of disgust. (Similarly in the Mṛcchakaṭikā Saṃsthānaka's endeavour to strangle Vasantasenā is balanced by the viṭa leaving him and his slave Sthāvaraka becoming rebellious.)

Concise summary of the plot [6]).

Act I. α $(\beta + \alpha)$, sc. 1. Lear divides his kingdom between his two daughters Goneril and Regan, who flatter him; outspoken Cordelia is disinherited.—$\delta\gamma$, sc. 2. **Mm-Gl.** Edmund slanders Edgar before Glocester.—$\beta\alpha$, sc. 4. **Mm-L.** Goneril insults King Lear.—$\alpha\beta$, sc. 4. Albany is disconcerted at Goneril's behaviour.

Act. II. $(\delta + \gamma + \beta)$ γ, sc. 1. Edmund accuses his brother Edgar before Glocester, Regan and Cornwall. Edgar is outlawed.—$\beta\alpha$, sc. 2. Regan Cornwall and Goneril staying at Glocester's (γ) castle, cast out King Lear. (In this act the two plots get interwoven).

Act III. $(\alpha + \gamma)$ α, sc. 4 and 6 **Cm-L.** Kent, fool, Edgar and Glocester meet with Lear on the heath during a tempest. King Lear turns mad. Lear really mad, the fool professionally mad and Edgar simulating madness.—$(\delta + \beta)$ γ, sc. 3, 5, 7. **Cm-Gl.** Edmund before Cornwall accuses his father of treason. Glocester having shown Edmund a letter concerning France's offer of help to Lear. Cornwall plucks out the eyes of Glocester; Regan brutally taunts Glocester with the truth concerning Edmund.—$\alpha\beta$ and $\beta\alpha$, sc. 7. A servant of Cornwall kills his master and is himself slain by Regan.

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6) Abbreviations and symbols: α = one or more persons of segment α; $\beta\alpha$ = a deed committed by one or more persons of segment β versus one or more persons of segment α; $(\delta + \beta)$ α = a scheme laid by Edmund and carried out with the assistance of one or more persons of segment β versus α. King Lear is reckoned to belong to segment α, and Glocester to segment γ. The persons of the broken line circles are left out of the segment; so Edgar only belongs to γ and not to α, etc. Mm-L is the motoric moment of the plot in which King Lear is the protagonist; Mm-Gl. similarly bears on Glocester; Cm = point of culmination; Pp = peripeteia; Cs = catastrophe. The symbolic representation of the subsidiary plots, which are developed in acts IV and V and in which Goneril and Regan are protagonists, will be given later on.

DIAGRAM SHOWING THE TWO PLOTS IN ACTS IV AND V ADDED TO THE MAIN PLOTS [7]).

Protagonists	Tritagonists as desired object	Antagonists who hinder the protagonists from attaining their wishes
Goneril	Edmund	Regan, Albany, Edgar
Regan	Edmund	Goneril, Albany, Edgar

Act IV γγ, sc. 1 and 6. **Pp-Gl.** Edgar as a disguised fool takes his father to Dover where the French army will land. He cleverly stages for him a suicidal jump from the cliff, which proves harmless enough, and calls it a miraculous rescue.— αα, sc. 3, 4, 7. **Pp-L.** Kent, still in disguise, takes King Lear to Dover. Lear reunited with Cordelia. Lear's madness subsides.—βδ, sc. 2, 5, 6. **Mm-Gon.** Goneril writes a letter to Edmund on whose loyalty she relies. She tries to persuade him to kill Albany (α), she gives the letter to Oswald (β) as a messenger.—ββ, sc. 5. **Mm-Reg.** Regan confesses to Oswald that she loves Edmund (δ) and she advises Oswald to kill Glocester (γ).— γβ, sc. 6. Edgar accompanying Glocester slays Oswald, who at Regan's instigation makes to kill Glocester. Edgar finds Goneril's treacherous letter on the body.

Act. V. δ, towards the end of sc. 1. Edmund glorifies in the fact that he can take at will either Goneril or Regan, defers killing Albany, who is first to countenance the battle.— [8]). **Cm-Gon.** and **Cm-Reg.** Edmund, commanding Albany's army gains the victory over the French; δα, Edmund takes Lear and Cordelia prisoner and has Cordelia assassinated.—γδ, Edgar, in disguise, accuses Edmund before Albany, showing him the letter found on Oswald. — α (β + δ). After the victory of the British army, when Regan wishes to marry Edmund, Albany interferes. Edgar, who has promised to fight Edmund is summoned by trumpet.— γδ. Edgar mortally wounds Edmund in the ensuing duel and then reveals himself.— ββ **Cs-Gon.** and **Cs-Reg.** Goneril poisons Regan and then commits suicide.—γ, **Cs-Gl.** Glocester dies from emotion, when Edgar, his disguised companion, reveals himself and expresses his intention to fight his treacherous brother Edmund.—α, **Cs-L.** Lear dies on the dead body of Cordelia.

Parallelism and relative importance of the two main plots.—

From act II onward the two plots are closely interwoven. The corresponding dramatic moments (Mm. etc.) always occur in the same act, but the Lear-plot always predominates. Glocester turns blind, Lear turns mad; Glocester's death is merely related, although in beautiful verse. Lear dies on the stage.

Analysis of the emotional structure of King Lear.—(Edward Dowden, 1875):

"In this play Shakespeare opposes the presence and influences of evil, not by any tran-

7) In these actions vengeance is brought upon the two wicked daughters of King Lear.

8) All these decisive facts are crowded into sc. 3.

scendental denial of evil, but by the presence of human virtue, fidelity and self-sacrificial love. In no play is there a clearer and intenser manifestation of loyal manhood and of strong, tender womanhood".—This quotation leads us straight to the analysis of the emotional structure of the tragedy; we suddenly get a glimpse of the dramatist's deepest consciousness. Just as in a horrible dream, this consciousness disintegrates into diabolical cruelty and compassion. King Lear and Glocester are whirled about by these conflicting instincts, both of them being decrepit with old age. Lear, the widower, has demanded from his daughters an unreasonable filial love; Glocester, as if he were to revenge the low social position of his paramour, Edmund's mother, elevates his bastard-son to the detriment of Edgar. And so this tragedy may be described as a great fear of irrational old age, all its emotional perturbations leading the victim to social cruelty which is only partly mitigated by deepest compassion.

Now combining the results of the two analyses, the analysis of the plot-, and of the emotional structure, we may draw the conclusion that the deep emotional state out of which *King Lear* arose was commingled with a rare subconscious intellect. And here distinctly appears the affinity of the poet Shakespeare with the painter Rembrandt and the musician Bach.

General conclusion on dramatic structure.—

From the Tragedy of King Lear we may draw the following general conclusion on dramatic structure: the impression made by the entire drama largely depends on the relation between the culminationpoint and the catastrophe, or in the comedy the comic solution. In *King Lear* we find the very original antithesis between sudden and cruel blindness or madness and a pathetic death.

In the light of this conclusion we may praise the two Hindu dramas chosen by VOGEL for translation. In the Mṛcchakaṭikā the supposed death of Vasantasenā and the impending verdict against Cārudatta contrast with their happy marriage. In the Mudrārākṣasa the audience enjoy the surprising antithesis of Rākṣasa's despondency about his helplessness and isolation, and his utter satisfaction at becoming minister to king Candragupta, whose character he has learned to appreciate.

DEUX JÂTAKA SUR IVOIRE

PROVENANT DES FOUILLES DE JOSEPH ET RIA HACKIN AU BÊGRÂM DE KÂPIÇÎ (AFGHANISTAN), 1939

par

ALFRED FOUCHER
Paris

Si les horreurs du présent n'avaient détourné l'humanité de l'étude du passé, la publication par JOSEPH *et* RIA HACKIN *de leurs* Recherches archéologiques à Begram, Chantier no. 2, 1937 *(Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan, t. IX. Paris, 1939) n'aurait pas manqué de produire partout une profonde sensation dans les cercles savants aussi bien qu' artistiques. Infatigables, ils avaient repris dès 1939 leurs fructueuses recherches. La guerre les interrompit; mais l'héroïque sacrifice que, le 24 février 1941, ils ont fait ensemble de leurs vies à la cause des peuples libres n'empêchera pas que les résultats en soient publiés. Le Musée Guimet, où leur mémoire est toujours aussi aimée qu'honorée, se chargera de leur rendre ce dernier devoir avec l'aide des membres survivants de leur équipe comme de leurs successeurs. Dès à présent il croit être l'exécuteur d'une de leurs volontés non-écrites en offrant en leur nom à l'éminent vétéran de l'archéologie indienne qu'est le Prof.* J. PH. VOGEL *la primeur de deux de leurs récentes trouvailles.*

Vers l'an 241 de notre ère l'approche de l'armée de Shâhpuhr répandait l'alarme dans la ville de Kâpiçî. Bâtie dans une situation magnifique, mais très exposée, au débouché méridional des passes de l'Hindûkush, la Taxila de la montagne se souvenait d'avoir été détruite huit siècles auparavant par Cyrus et redoutait, non sans raison, de subir aux mains du Sassanide le même sort que l'Achéménide lui avait jadis infligé. Promptement renée de ses ruines en vertu de son importance économique autant que stratégique, elle avait dans l'intervalle connu bien des vicissitudes. Placée par Alexandre sous la surveillance jalouse de l'Alexandrie-du-Caucase, rendue par Séleukos à Candragupta, reprise à Saubhagasena par Dèmètrios fils d'Euthydème et à Dèmètrios par Eukratidès, conservée par Hèlioklès après l'évacuation par les Grecs de la Bactriane, probablement ravie à Hermaios par le Scytho-Parthe Spalirisès, elle était finalement tombée aux mains des Kuṣaṇas et devenue depuis tantôt un siècle la capitale d'été de la dynastie de Kaniṣka. En dépit de tous ces changements de régime le commerce international y avait accumulé, surtout depuis l'établissement en Occident de la paix romaine, quantité de marchandises précieuses en provenance du Levant méditerranéen, de l'Inde intérieure et de l'Asie centrale. Dans la partie

Est de ce qui avait été le Basileion des Indo-Grecs, un grand personnage resté anonyme s'était préoccupé de mettre en sûreté ceux de ses biens meubles auxquels il tenait le plus. Conservant par-devers lui tous les objets d'or ou d'argent, il avait entassé dans deux pièces de son palais ceux qu'il jugeait trop encombrants ou trop fragiles pour être emportés: sièges et coffrets indiens ornés de plaques d'os et d'ivoire; verreries, bronzes et plâtres de facture hellénistique; et jusqu'à des laques chinois. Puis il avait fait murer les portes des deux chambres et, par surcroît de précaution, les avait encore isolées derrière une seconde muraille de briques crues. Sans doute il se proposait de revenir, une fois le danger passé. Le destin ne le lui permit pas; mais son trésor — on est presque tenté de dire: „sa collection" — enseveli sous les décombres de sa demeure bientôt recouvertes elles-mêmes par des constructions nouvelles, échappa au pillage des envahisseurs perses, comme cinq siècles plus tard aux razzias des Musulmans. A ce moment la vieille cité, mal protégée par la haute chaîne neigeuse, fut décidément jugée trop en l'air, et la capitale se transporta à Kâbul, à une soixantaine de kilomètres plus au Sud, derrière un rideau de collines (fin du VIII^e siècle). La vie déserta peu à peu le site de Kâpiçî dont Al-Bîrûnî fut le dernier à se rappeler le nom; et sous les tertres du „Bêgrâm de Kohistân" ce qui restera comme l'une des plus belles et instructives découvertes archéologiques de notre temps attendit patiemment sous son linceul de terre que le moment vînt de récompenser les persévérantes recherches de Joseph et Ria Hackin [1]).

De l'avis des heureux inventeurs, „l'apport de beaucoup le plus intéressant de cette fouille est représenté par des plaquettes et des bandes en ivoire et en os pourvues d'une ornementation gravée ou sculptée" [2]). Les deux spécimens reproduits sur la planche ci-jointe mesurent chacun environ onze centimètres sur six, avec une épaisseur de deux millimètres. Exhumés ensemble le 16 juin 1939 à une profondeur de 2 m 30, ils ont reçu les n^os 55 *a* et *b*, et sont actuellement conservés au Musée de Kâbul. Ainsi que l'a noté J. Hackin sur son journal de fouilles, encore inédit: „Le relief est très légèrement indiqué, affectant seulement les contours et sans que l'artiste ait fait le moindre effort pour aborder le modelé [3]); le dessin n'est d'ailleurs pas sans mérite.... Le fond est strié, et il est vraisemblable qu'une couche de peinture rouge „rachetait" les parties évidées." Les deux plaquettes présentent cet intérêt particulier d'être jusqu'ici à peu près les seules à figurer une scène de la légende bouddhique. Un simple regard jeté sur elles montre que le principal souci de l'artiste a été de conter de son mieux son histoire en donnant à ses personnages des attitudes et des physionomies aussi

1) Telle est du moins la conception qu'on peut provisoirement se faire des circonstances dans lesquelles fut exécuté le dépôt du „trésor de Kâpiçî": tout ce que nous croyons savoir sur ce point est dû aux fouilles successives de J. et R. Hackin, J. Carl, J. Meunié et R. Ghirshman, dont le détail est ou sera publié dans les tomes VIII, IX (paru), XI et XII (celui-ci déjà sorti des presses de l'Institut français du Caire) des Mémoires de la Délég. arch. fr. en Afghanistan.

2) M.D.A.F.A., t. IX, p. 10.

3) Cela revient à dire que, dans la classification établie par J. Hackin, le style de ces plaquettes ressortit à la technique B, intermédiaire entre A, où „le décor est simplement gravé au poinçon" et C, où le rendu du modelé est „poussé à un rare degré de perfection". Cf. *ibid.* t. IX, p. 13.

expressives que le lui permettaient ses moyens. Cette évidente préoccupation compense aux yeux de l'iconographe son manque de virtuosité technique. Elle nous dicte aussi l'attitude docile que nous devons adopter à son égard dans notre effort pour pénétrer sa pensée, et la prudente méthode qu'il convient de suivre pour traduire en paroles ses muettes indications. Décrire ces deux tableautins sans identifier au fur et à mesure les divers personnages reviendrait à poser inutilement une série d'énigmes; donner d'emblée la clef de celles-ci procéderait d'un arbitraire choquant. Le mieux est, semble-t-il, d'associer le lecteur à nos tâtonnements et, en partageant avec lui nos hésitations ou nos doutes, de lui permettre de se former lui-même une opinion.

No 55 a. — Impossible de le lui dissimuler: s'il n'a jamais lu les récits que nous font le *Jâtaka* (nº 253) et le *Divyâvadâna* (p. 509 s.) au sujet des exigences et des exploits, aussi extraordinaires les unes que les autres, des chevaux pur-sang (*âjaneya*), qu'il commence par les lire; sinon il n'a aucune chance de deviner ce que représente le nº 55 *a*. Mais une fois qu'il les aura lus, il ne pourra manquer de reconnaître dans le noble coursier qui est visiblement le héros de la scène et à qui l'on rend si cérémonieusement visite, un de ces chevaux-mascottes (*maṅgala-açva*) qui faisaient partie des sept joyaux du *cakravartin* et étaient considérés comme un trésor d'Etat: car d'eux dépendaient et la sécurité personnelle du souverain et la foudroyante rapidité de ses victoires. On nous montre celui-ci dans son écurie, sans licol, debout devant sa mangeoire, sous une sorte de dais dont les courtines relevées sont là pour nous rappeler les tentures couleur de pourpre et étoilées d'or qui (assure le *Jâtaka* n° 253) sont de règle pour décorer la stalle d'un aussi précieux animal. L'homme qui se tient près de lui se dénonce aussitôt par sa houppelande et son bonnet scythique comme originaire de la Haute-Asie. Que d'autres s'en étonnent: pour nous, nous savons déjà, ou nous venons d'apprendre que c'est de la Région-du-Nord (*Uttara-patha*) que des chefs de caravanes descendaient (et continuent toujours à descendre) dans l'Inde pour y amener des chevaux de prix. Il se peut donc, d'accord avec le *Jâtaka* nº 253, que l'individu en question soit le marchand (*assa-vâṇija*) qui a vendu le beau palefroi. Il semble que ce soit plutôt le *sûta* ou écuyer que préfère mettre en scène le *Divyâvadâna*: car, de même qu'il fallait faire venir les bons chevaux du Septentrion, il y avait intérêt à embaucher pour les soigner des gens de même origine, particulièrement experts au métier de palefreniers. De toutes manières le personnage qui vient ensuite, engoncé dans les deux pièces de son costume indien et coiffé d'un turban ne peut être qu'un râjah [4]): car il est suivi de deux de ses amazones dont la première porte sur l'épaule l'épée royale. Est-ce un troisième membre féminin de sa garde qui meuble l'espace disponible derrière le cheval? Il se peut aussi que ce soit la reine, car elle aura bientôt un rôle à jouer. Nous voilà donc déjà en pays

4) L'ampleur et l'épaisseur du manteau et de la *dhoti* du roi, en contraste avec le costume léger en usage dans l'Inde centrale, donnent à penser que notre ivoirier travaillait dans la région du Nord-Ouest. Comme on verra ci-dessous, l'accord de la version figurée sur le no 55b avec le texte du *Mahâvastu* pointe dans la même direction. Ici même il semble que l'artiste suive la version du *Divyâvadâna*, empruntée au canon sanskrit des Mûla-sarvâsti-vâdin, de préférence à celle du canon pâli des Theravâdin.

de connaissance: il ne nous reste plus à découvrir que l'essentiel, à savoir le motif de la présence à l'écurie et de l'air mi-consterné, mi-émerveillé de tous les acteurs, bref ce que l'on appelle au théâtre la péripétie. Ce secret, que l'artiste a emporté avec lui sur son bûcher funéraire, seuls les textes sont susceptibles de nous le révéler aujourd'hui; et en effet ils nous apprennent qu'à un moment donné le pur-sang, mécontent de la façon peu digne de lui dont on le traite, a refusé de manger sa provende, si bonne qu'elle fût. Ainsi avertis, tout nous devient limpide. Nous sommes déjà arrivés à Bénarès, et le noble destrier a décidé, pour venger son offense, de faire la grève de la faim. Tout le jour il a résisté aux instantes prières de son soigneur. A la nuit tombante celui-ci, ne sachant plus à quel saint se vouer, a pris le parti d'aller faire son rapport au roi; et le souverain, partageant ses alarmes, est aussitôt descendu des appartements supérieurs de son palais. Il vient d'entrer dans l'écurie, suivi de son cortège ordinaire de femmes. L'écuyer (à moins que vous ne préfériez que ce soit le maquignon), tenant de la main gauche l'un des bouts de sa ceinture, éclaire son maître (ou son client) à l'aide d'une sorte de torche qu'il tient dans la main droite et dont la flamme est rabattue par le vent. Est-ce aussi lui qui se fait l'interprète des revendications du cheval? Ou bien, comme nous sommes au temps où les bêtes parlaient, est-ce le quadrupède qui, conscient de son incomparable valeur, les présente lui-même? Et est-ce pour cela (ou simplement pour marquer son refus de prendre aucune nourriture?) qu'il retourne la tête vers son royal visiteur? Toujours est-il que l'excès de ses exigences suffit à expliquer pourquoi, sous le coup de la surprise, le monarque lève la main droite et les yeux vers le ciel. Lisez plutôt:

> L'écuyer dit au roi: „Sire, on n'a pas fait le nécessaire pour lui; c'est pourquoi il refuse cet excellent fourrage. — Que fallait-il donc faire? — Voici quels sont les honneurs à lui rendre: sur une distance de deux lieues et demie il faut décorer le chemin; le roi en personne avec les quatre corps de son armée [5]) va à sa rencontre; le fils aîné du roi tient au-dessus de sa tête un parasol à cent baguettes; la fille aînée du roi l'évente avec un chasse-mouches au manche enrichi de pierreries; la première reine lui présente à manger dans un bassin d'or des racines fourragères trempées dans du miel; le premier ministre avec une pelle d'or ramasse le crottin". Le roi dit: „A ce compte, c'est lui qui est le roi; ce n'est plus moi". L'écuyer dit: „Sire, il ne sera pas nécessaire de lui rendre perpétuellement ces honneurs: au bout de sept jours il deviendra maniable". Le roi dit: „Ce qui est fait est fait et n'est plus à refaire: qu'on fasse ce qui reste à faire ....."

Nous dirons comme lui et nous en resterons là: si la conviction du lecteur n'est pas déjà acquise sur pièces, aucun plaidoyer ne réussira à la déterminer.

55b. — Le déchiffrement de la seconde histoire sans paroles ne pourra de même être acquis qu'en deux temps: il faut commencer par relever soigneusement toutes les données

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5) Les quatre corps sont, comme on sait, l'infanterie, la cavalerie, les chars et les éléphants. — L'objet métallique en forme de feuille évidée et mobile autour d'un axe, qu'on aperçoit entre la tête du roi et celle du palefrenier, veut-il représenter l'attache de la porte de l'écurie? S'il n'était placé si haut, il rappellerait l'anneau de la porte du couvent sur le fig. 238b de l'*Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra.*

de l'image, mais c'est seulement d'un texte, ou du souvenir d'un texte, qu'on peut ensuite attendre les éclaircissements décisifs. Même parmi les détails du tableau il est parfois difficile de discerner à première vue ceux qui ont une valeur d'indication scénique de ceux qui ne sont que banal accessoire décoratif. Dans ce cas particulier nous voyons bien que nous sommes transportés dans un ermitage. Les deux personnages principaux, debout au centre, présentent le type caractéristique des anachorètes-des-bois, les *vâna-prastha* des Indiens, les *hylobioi* des Grecs. On les reconnaît aussitôt tant à leur longue chevelure [6]) qu'à leur pagne fait de cette filasse (*valkala*) que l'on obtient en écrasant entre deux pierres l'écorce de certains arbres — moyen primitif, mais commode, de se vêtir, puisqu'il épargne la peine de filer et de tisser. La hutte de roseaux encadrée entre un bananier et un açoka, lesquels simulent le forêt, est partie intégrante du paysage; et si l'on cherche vainement des yeux le traditionnel autel du sacrifice, on aperçoit du moins à terre le fagot de bois qui servira à alimenter le feu sacré. Que faire cependant de l'antilope paisiblement couchée à la porte de la cabane et qui semble ne prendre aucune part à ce qui se passe? Comme des gazelles apprivoisées hantent régulièrement les *âçrama* on pourrait être tenté de n'accorder à celle-ci aucune attention particulière: c'est en quoi l'on aurait grand tort; car c'est elle qui, conjuguée avec les trois belles visiteuses représentées sur la droite, nous permet de mettre un nom sur les personnages et d'affirmer que nous avons affaire au roman d'amour du jeune anachorète Isi-siṅga (Corne-d'antilope) ou Ekaçriṅga (Unicorne) et de la princesse Nalinî (*Jâtaka*, no. 25; *Mahâvastu*, III, p. 143 s.; cf. *Mahâbhârata* III, 110-113, etc.). En dépit de ses façons discrètes, cette bête n'est rien moins que la mère du jeune premier; et tandis que son absence nous aurait laissés dans le noir, sa présence aurait déjà dû faire jaillir pour nous l'indispensable trait de lumière. De fait la plaquette 55 *b* devient désormais sans mystère, d'autant qu'elle prend rang à la suite d'une série de bas-reliefs consacrés à la même légende. Si vous êtes curieux de connaître les circonstances de la conception et de la mise au monde du fils de l'anachorète et de la biche, un fragment de frise du Gandhâra et un médaillon de Barhut vous les montreront sans vergogne, car tout est pur pour les purs. Le sculpteur de la Porte Nord du grand *stûpa* de Sâñchî marque plus de délicatesse, mais réunit également dans le cadre habituel de l'ermitage le père, la mère et l'enfant [7]). Sur notre panneau celui-ci est devenu adulte, et pour une raison ou pour une autre – que se soit pour mettre fin à une sécheresse qui désole son royaume ou simplement pour se procurer un gendre qui lui tienne

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6) Ici les anachorètes laissent flotter leur chevelure; d'autres la ramassaient sur le sommet de la tête en un haut chignon (*jaṭâ*: d'où leur nom de *jaṭila*); d'autres enfin la tordaient de chaque côté du front „en un double chignon ressemblant aux cornes d'une antilope. C'est du moins ce que nous assure le commentateur du *Jâtaka* no. 526 (éd. FAUSBØLL, V, p. 153, l. 14-15) et telle est l'explication rationaliste, qu'il nous donne du nom d'Isi-siṅga (Skt. Ṛiçyaçriṅga, „qui a des cornes d'antilope noire"). Nous ne nous souverons pas d'avoir vu sur des bas-reliefs indiens cette bizarre sorte de coiffure cornue; mais elle se présente couramment sur les plaques vernissées qui décorent les *stûpa* birmans (*Les représentations de* Jâtaka *dans l'art bouddhique*, Mém. concernant l'Asie orientale, III, (fig. 5*b* et pl. IV, 7 et 8).

7) Cf. CUNNINGHAM, *Stûpa of Bharhut*, pl. XXVI, 7; *Monuments of Sâñchî*, pl. 27, 1 (où le front d'Ekaçriṅga est bien armé d'une corne); *Représentations des* Jâtaka, etc., pl. IV, 3 (Gandhâra; cf. *ibid.*, pl. II, 3 et 4).

lieu de fils — le roi (naturellement celui de Bénarès) charge sa fille d'aller séduire le jeune ascète et, à grand renfort de stratagèmes, de le ramener à la cour [8]). Ce n'est qu'un jeu pour la jolie princesse, escortée de ses deux suivantes, que de tourner la tête à cet innocent dadais qui, tout comme le fils du Frère Philippe de Boccace et de La Fontaine, est parvenu à la puberté sans avoir jamais vu de femme et dont les naïfs étonnements exercent fort la veine comique des conteurs. — Mais, objectera-t-on peut-être, toutes nos sources sont d'accord sur le point que cette entreprise de séduction suppose pour sa réussite l'absence, au moins momentanée, du vieux ṛishi: or, il est ici présent... — Ne vous hâtez pas trop d'accuser notre ivoirier d'avoir, en groupant tous ses personnages sur les soixante-six centimètres carrés dont il dispose, commis une sorte de contre-sens narratif. Il n'avait sûrement pas dans l'esprit la forme outrageusement édifiante qu'a prise, comme d'habitude, le conte sous la plume monastique du rédacteur du *Jâtaka.* S'il a illustré un texte précis au lieu de s'en fier uniquement à sa mémoire, c'est du dénoûment infiniment plus humain de la version du *Mahâvastu* qu'il s'est inspiré. Il nous faut seulement admettre que le mariage du jeune anachorète et de la princesse a déjà été dûment célébré:

> Et là-dessus le jeune ṛishi en compagnie de Nalinî alla à l'ermitage rendre visite à son père le ṛishi Kâçyapa; et après s'être prosterné à ses pieds ainsi que Nalinî, il lui conta toute l'affaire. Le ṛishi pensa: „Il est impossible que le jeune ṛishi demeure ici dans l'ermitage séparé de Nalinî; il leur est né l'un pour l'autre un lien, un attachement". Et il dit à son fils: „Fils, la main de cette princesse Nalinî t'a été donnée devant l'autel du feu par le rite de l'eau. Elle est ton épouse et tu es son époux. Il ne convient pas que vous vous quittiez. Retourne avec elle à la ville de Bénarès" (*Mahâvastu.* III, p. 151).

Il semble bien que le moment choisi par l'artiste soit justement cette scène des adieux. Telle est en tout cas l'hypothèse qui expliquerait le mieux, outre l'air recueilli et charmé du jeune homme et des suivantes, l'absence de colère de la part du vieil anachorète et le geste de bénédiction de ses deux mains étendues au-dessus de la princesse prosternée, tandis que la vieille mère-biche détourne la tête pour qu'on ne la voie pas pleurer. Bien entendu les jeunes époux ne se le font pas dire deux fois et rentrent ensemble à la ville. Désigné par le roi comme son héritier présomptif, le jeune forestier, complètement déniaisé, monte sur le trône à la mort de son beau-père, gouverne son royaume avec justice, et a de Nalinî beaucoup d'enfants (exactement trente-deux, tous nés par paires). Là s'arrêterait chez nous le conte: dans l'Inde il nous faut encore apprendre que, dès que son fils aîné fut d'âge, Eka-çṛiṅga l'a fait sacrer roi à son tour, qu'il est retourné à la vie religieuse et s'est finalement qualifié pour renaître dans le ciel de Brahmâ.

Notre tâche de liseur d'images — la seule que réclame pour le moment la présentation de ces deux plaquettes — est terminée: peut-être nous permettra-t-on pour conclure d'ajouter

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8) On notera ce dernier trait: seul il aide à comprendre pourquoi, dans la version du conte parvenue en Europe, les Bestiaires de notre Moyen âge, à commencer par le *Physiologus,* croient savoir que seule une jeune fille peut capturer l'Unicorne ou Licorne: „Et elle commande à l'animal, et il lui obéit, et elle l'amène au palais du roi". — Le *Mahâbhârata* préfère confier à une courtisane le soin de séduire le jeune ascète.

à leur propos une remarque qui intéresse l'histoire de l'art indien. On sait la prédilection avec laquelle les vieux *rûpa-kâra* puisaient le sujet de leurs compositions dans les recueils de „Vies antérieures" du Buddha. Or, si les interprétations que nous avons proposées ci-dessus sont correctes, nous avons pour la première fois sous les yeux deux *jâtaka* figurés sur ivoire. Leur découverte apporte, par contre-coup, une utile confirmation à l'inscription gravée sur la Porte Sud du grand *stûpa* de Sâñchî [9]), laquelle déclare de la façon la plus explicite que la décoration sculptée du jambage de gauche est l'oeuvre des ivoiriers de la ville voisine de Vidiçâ (Bês-nagar). C'était là un travail qui paraissait tout-à-fait en dehors de leur spécialité; et, que ce fût spontanément ou sur la commande de donateurs bouddhiques, la témérité dont ces bons artisans avaient fait preuve en l'entreprenant était jugée jusqu'ici à peine croyable. Il reste assurément qu'il était fort aventureux de leur part de s'attaquer à une matière aussi différente de celle sur laquelle ils exerçaient d'ordinaire leur talent: du moins sommes-nous sûrs à présent qu'à tout le moins certains d'entre eux étaient déjà familiers avec le genre de scènes qu'ils s'engageaient à représenter. Il ne s'agissait en définitive pour eux que de modifier leur technique; et de fait, reproduits à plus grande échelle et reportés sur pierre avec toutes les transpositions nécessaires, nos deux *jâtaka* ne seraient aucunement déplacés sur un entourage de *stûpa*.

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9) *Vedisakehi daṃtakârehi rûpakaṃmaṃ kataṃ*: cf. *Mon. of Sâñchî*, I, p. 342 et pl. 18.

DEUX JĀTAKA SUR IVOIRE PROVENANT DE BÈGRÂM

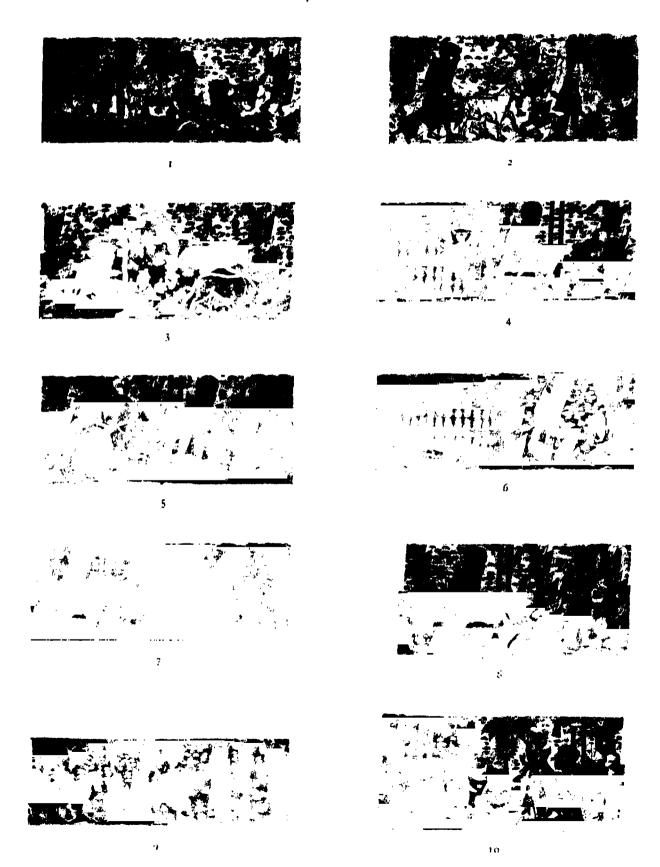
a

b

a. L'HISTOIRE DU *MAṄGALA-AŚVA*

b. L'HISTOIRE DU JEUNE ANACHORÈTE EKAÇṚṄGA ET LA PRINCESSE NALINI

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PAUṢYAPARVAN ON A BALINESE PAINTING

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM THE PAUṢYAPARVAN ON A BALINESE PAINTING

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In the ethnographic section of the Indian Museum at Amsterdam there is to be found a Balinese painting on a strip of linnen, 566 cm long, 25 cm high. The painting belongs to the loan collection of the late Dutch painter Mr. Ch. E. H. Saijers and, not having been identified by the owner, was registered as series 809, no. 155. The acquisition was made in 1933, and during the three years that followed the subject matter of the picture was still a closed book to the curators. In 1936 the late Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels, when his opinion on the matter was asked by the staff of the Museum, made out that the pictures represented scenes from folk-tales, without being able to point to a special story.

On the 10th of April 1947, I had the honour to speak about this painting to a meeting of the Congress of Dutch Orientalists at Leyden. What was explained at that time may be outlined here with the aid of 10 photographs illustrating the succeeding sections of the story. As the reader will be able to see afterwards, the subject matter of the painting is taken from a first part of the Old-Javanese version of the Pauṣyaparvan in the Mahābhārata, dated 996 A.D., preserved in Balinese manuscripts, the oldest extant copies of which were written in the eighteenth century. The late Professor H. Kern translated the Pauṣyaparvan from one of these manuscripts into Dutch [1]). The text of the Old-Javanese Ādiparvan was later published by Dr. Juynboll [2]). As is known, a part of the story in the Pauṣyaparvan, the tale of Uttaṅka, is told again, in a different way, in the Aśvamedhikaparvan of the Indian epic. Professor Vogel, in his well-known book on Indian Serpent-lore, summarized the two different Sanskrit versions [3]).

The story of King Pauṣya, called Poṣyacarita in the Old Javanese Adiparvan, not being a litteral translation, is only, as Professor Kern states, a "thinned extract" from the Sanskrit with some enlargements not to be found in our versions of the Indian epic. It begins by mentioning a certain brāhmaṇa, called bhagavān Dhomya (Skrt.: Ṛṣi Dhaumya Apoda, or

1) *Over de Oudjavaansche vertaling van 't Mahābhārata, Verhandelingen der Kon. Academie van Wetenschappen,* Dl. XI, 1877, republished in *Verspreide Geschriften* IX (1920), pp. 217-243.

2) *Adiparwa, Oudjavaansch prozageschrift,* uitgegeven door H. H. JUYNBOLL, 1906.

3) *Indian Serpent-lore or The Nāgas in Hindu Legend and Art.* (London, 1926).

°Ayoda). He has three çiṣya's called sang Utamanyu (Skrt.: Upamanyu), sang Ārunika (Skrt.: Āruṇi Pāñcālya) and sang Veda. Being determined to submit the three of them to a trial of obedience, the guru starts by giving instructions to Ārunika, who is told to work in the ricefield (sawah). In this the pupil succeeds very well, till a heavy shower of rain causes a flood. To revert a calamity, the çiṣya tries to strengthen the earthen dikes (galĕng) in the watered field again and again. Alas! The dam is washed away and the rainwater threatens to damage the rice-stems, that have, till now, grown beautifully. Ārunika, at last, uses his own body as a dike. He lies outstretched, day and night, without moving. Seeing him in that uneasy position, Dhomya, touched by this act of bhakti, orders him to get up again and, besides pronouncing his benediction, gives him, as was promised, some magical formula after his trial, which has come to an end.

It is Utamanyu's turn now. He has to herd the cattle and is not lazy either. Coming home, he does not turn over anything of the food obtained by begging to his master. Being reproached for this he confesses his guilt and goes out again, herding and begging. This time he gives everything to the guru, but starts out for the second time to beg for himself, during the herding of the cattle. It becomes known that he has been begging twice. He is told that he is greedy; such a thing, says Dhomya, is not done! The pupil afterwards, during his errands drinks the milk left at the udders by the sucking calves. This, too, he may not do, nor is he permitted to drink the foam, dropped on the ground by the calves, after having had their fill of milk. It is true, that it is only foam, but it is not fair to rob the little animals of what is due to them, says the master. Utamanyu kneels down and gives the reverential salute (sĕmbah). Next morning, herding the cattle and feeling very hungry, he breakfasts on the juice of the leaves of the Waduri tree (Skrt.: Arka tree). The juice, being hot, affects his eyes. He is struck blind and, groping around in the dark, tries to find the cattle. In the vicinity there is a dry well. Utamanyu falls in it and cannot get out again. Meanwhile the cattle, having nobody to look after them any more, in the evening return to the stable on their own accord. They are seen by the guru, who starts out to look for his pupil. Utamanyu is found and, pitied at last, is given a powerful mantra by Dhomya to attract the attention of the Aśvin's. These twins, doctors of the gods, give him a rice-cake. The boy eats it, according to their instruction and instantly the light of his eyes is returned to him. The guru then gives his pupil the science of magic and utters a benevolent wish. That was the end to Utamanyu's troubles.

Veda has to stay at home, in the kitchen. The dishes, prepared for the master, are served by the pupil in a dutiful way; every wish of the guru is instantly taken notice of. Dhomya is pleased and, in due time, this çisya may leave too, after having received full knowledge and the science of the magical mantra's. Back again in his own patapan (place of tapas), he dwells on the thought that he, should there ever come a pupil to him, would give what would be asked for without expecting anything in return. Had he not felt the daily burden of heavy responsibilities on his shoulders during his own apprenticeship?

A pupil, sang Uttanka, enters his āçrama to seek wisdom. After a time Veda is invited to a yajña by the kings Janamejaya and Posya. Uttanka is ordered to guard the patapan and to look after the guru's wife. Day and night the boy attends to his duty. After his return

Veda finds everything in good order. He is satisfied and gives Uttaṅka the full knowledge of the mantra's. The pupil is dismissed, but he, thinking that he is sent away to make place for a guest, is afraid to leave without having asked what to pay for the lessons received. Veda is silent, Uttaṅka repeats his question. The guru, irritated by this, refers the boy to his wife. What she might be pleased to ask of Uttaṅka must be performed by him. Now during the former absence of the master, his wife had ordered the pupil to do something for her. Uttaṅka, however, had not fulfilled her wish. Had he done so, it is true, he would have been guilty of one of the greatest crimes a çiṣya can commit with regard to the guru. Nevertheless the wife, being angry still, is out for revenge and asks him for the ear-rings of Poṣya's queen, to be delivered to her in four days and four nights. Uttaṅka on his way to the king's residence meets what the Old Javanese text describes as "a man mounted on a bull" (a giant on a bull of exceedingly great size, according to the Indian epic). The man tells him to eat the ordure of the bull and to drink its urine should he wish to reach the palace in time. Uttaṅka (after some hesitation, according to the Sanskrit version) does as he is told and acquires a lightness of body. Not without cause, as is explained to him later on by his master, for the rider was Indra in disguise, the bull in reality had been Airāwaṇa (Airāvata according to the Skrt. text), while what the boy had been ordered to eat was nothing less than amṛta, that saved his life during Uttaṅka's remarkable adventures in the world of the snakes. These adventures need not be related here. Returning to the story, I must conclude by telling the uninformed reader, that the çiṣya reached his destination, paid the compliments of a brahmin to the king and was graciously received by the mahārāja after having told him what he had come to ask for.

I need not dwell on what happened afterwards. The further incidents in the story are not illustrated on the painting, to which I would like to direct the attention of the reader in the following paragraphs (see plate IX).

On the first picture we see, after an only partly readable inscription and a vertical red line, from left to right, a small kneeling figure, clad in a loin-cloth, with the Balinese wayang-version of the Indian jaṭā on his head. It is a servant of a religious teacher, as is known from the stories illustrated on some reliefs of certain temples in East-Java, dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth century A.D. He kneels on the side of a partly visible balé (pĕṇḍapa in Java, maṇḍapa in India). In front of the bale stands Dhomya, decked with a brahmin's robe and crowned by a jaṭāmakuṭa. A tree in a small terrace of brick is found between the teacher and his three pupils, the first of which (according to the internal evidence of the other illustrations on the painting) is Veda, followed by Utamanyu and Aruṇika. In view of the interpretation it is necessary to note here, that Veda's robe is beige-coloured (the general present tint of the background), with red designs. That of Utamanyu is of a light brown, with a red flowery pattern, while the coat of Aruṇika has a pure white colour. The head-dress of each pupil is provided with a kind of white feathers at the back. Dhomya tells them what their duties are. They kneel down and make a reverential salute (sĕmbah) before starting out to do what is required by the guru. The ground is covered with conventionalized bricks: we are in the enclosure of the patapan.

On the second photo we find Utamanyu herding a cow and its calf. Note the cow-bell and the rope by which the animal is led in the fields (absence of bricks!). The different sections of the painting are, till now, marked by division-signs in the form of conventionalized rocks, covered by triangles or antefix-like figures pointing to the right. It is in this direction that most of our present illustrations have to be "read". In front of this section we notice another one showing Aruṇika with a weeding-hook on his shoulder, going out to work in the sawah. The third illustration introduces Utamanyu, begging, while herding the cattle: a bull with a bigger bell and a mewing cow in the distance; a cow suckling its calf in the foreground. Two country-boys, with grass-knives stuck in their belts, offer baskets of rice to the herdsman. Perhaps two boys are pictured here to point out that Utamanyu is begging twice. On the fourth photo Aruṇika is to be seen, working, with his weeding-hook between the growing conventionalized rice-stems, standing in the watered field that is dammed by dikes. Then follows a section in which Veda (recognizable by his dress) is found, in the act of serving a covered dish to his master and thus fulfilling his duty. Utamanyu, on the fifth photo, is sucking at the udder of the cow, while the calf is looking up to its mother as if to ask what on earth the fellow is doing. The next section shows the pupil being severely remonstrated by the guru, while the little servant partakes in the scolding of the kneeling student, who is painted in the act of speaking.

Figure 6 reminds us of Aruṇika, lying full-length in the sawah on one of the dikes, looking upwards to the conventionalized clouds and the pouring rain, indicated by thin vertical lines. On this photo we see his dismissal too. The master and his servant speak to the kneeling pupil, who puts his hands together in a reverential salute after having received the science of the sacred scriptures. On the seventh figure the cow and its calf, not cared for any more by Utamanyu, return in the evening, met by the servant of Dhomya, who, while sitting in his balé, anxiously questions his man on what has become of the pupil. Meanwhile the cow is lovengly stroked by the servant. The missing student, cured by this time and having received a benediction, is shown in the next section, making the sĕmbah before leaving his guru, who, in a fatherly way, puts his hand on the shoulder of the dutiful çiṣya. The eighth photo tells about Veda, bringing the salute to his master. He is dismissed, after having been instructed in the holy writings. On the next section we see him on his way. For the last time the conventionalized stones and triangles (by way of division-marks, as may be remembered) point to the right. What is the destination of Veda in this case? Never before on this painting a dismissed pupil has been shown in the act walking away. It is, therefore, possible that the painter did not mean to picture Veda here in the act of going to his own patapan, because the next section of the painting (no. 10) shows the court of king Poṣya. That section, however, is not reproduced as our ninth figure, which, in reality, without being the conclusion of the story, shows what is to be seen on the present right end of the whole painting. From that end we have, from now on, to follow the illustrations of the tale to the left, as is indicated by the direction of the division-marks. The right end of the painting, however, has been cut, as is to be seen by some details that I need dwell on here. These details show that one other scene, at least, must have appeared on the formerly undamaged

series of illustrations. Now on our photo 9 we see a person, in a robe of red colour, looking to the left and bringing one hand to his chin (in this case an act of sorrow or of fear). In accordance with the colour of his coat the man cannot be one of the figures that have appeared in our scenes till now. On the other hand, apart from the said distinction, the standing fellow is rendered in the same way as the other students of a religious teacher. So it must be Uttaṅka, Veda's pupil, on his way to Poṣya's court, to get the ear-rings desired by the guru's wife. This supposition can be proved by looking at the subject-matter of the left section of this ninth photo. In this case we have to do with the same person again, speaking to a man mounted on a bull: i.e. to Indra on Airāvaṇa. The ordure of the bull is eaten by Uttaṅka on the right section of our tenth figure. The sitting person has a morsel of the amṛta (in disguise) in his right hand, that is brought to his face. What the pupil is eating is, however, not to be seen very clearly on our small photo, that shows the half of a sun-orb with shining rays above the çiṣya. There is no mention of a "day-break" or of something like it in this part of our text. So the shining sun, perhaps, has been put in here to indicate that Uttaṅka, having eaten the amṛta, is, from now on, indeed an immortal, in the sphere of the heavenly beings. He arrived without delay at Poṣya's palace, and we meet our pupil again on the left part of our tenth plate. Uttaṅka stands on the bricks of the court. Behind him, beside a partly visible royal balé (with curtains hanging down, or bundled at the bottom of the roof), two courtiers appear. In the middle of the scene there is a tree in an enclosure of bricks. On the other side of it we see the standing mahārāja, with the two Balinese wayang-clowns (Twalèn and Mĕrdah). Behind, or beside Mĕrdah two other courtiers are visible, while here too a royal bale is stationed for the sake of symmetry. The king receives Uttaṅka with every mark of respect, after having been told by him what is the reason of his visit to the palace. Here the story ends on our painting. By want of space it not possible for me to dwell on many technical details with regard to the skill of the painter or to the unknown date of his work, that has been hung in former days around the beams of the inner roof-construction of a balé, as a so-called idĕr-idĕr. Two points, however, may be noted here. First of all, on the now missing right end of the painting, there could only have been told what, in the Old Javanese story, is to be found between the parting of Veda from Dhomya's monastery and the sending out of Uttaṅka by the wife of his guru. The last mentioned incident was, perhaps, painted on the part of the strip of linnen, that, on account of the partly visible division-marks, must have been formerly attached to the right end of our present painting. Secondly, where does Veda go to on the right section of photo 8? The next figure is, in reality, a picture of Poṣya's palace (our photo 10, left side). As Veda is indeed invited by the kings Janamejaya and Poṣya in our text, it is possible that the court of the last named king is, according to the painter, the real object of Veda's trip on photo 8 (right side). Placing the scene of the palace between the visits of Veda and his pupil, the artist, in that case, has used an ingenious trick to economize with his linnen.

Imperfect as it may be, we have to end our article here, and put it in the hands of our own Guru, as a greatly insufficient token of our deep respect for his vast knowledge, imparted on so many an occasion to his pupils, out of the fullness of his kind heart.

THE SYSTEM OF INTER-STATE RELATIONS AND OF FOREIGN POLICY IN THE EARLY *ARTHAŚĀSTRA* STATE

by

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The State-system in the early Arthaśāstra State

The germs of inter-state relations may be traced back to the Vedic State. Even in the Ṛgvedic hymns we find accounts of transactions, friendly and hostile, between different States [1]. The closeness and constancy of foreign relations in later Vedic times is hinted at by the fact that *janyamitra* ('friend from a foreign country') according to Yajus texts, and the *pālāgala* or *pālākala* (probably referring to an envoy in a foreign state) according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (v.3.1.11), play important parts in the Rājasūya sacrifice [2]. It is, however, in the early Arthaśāstra works that we find the oldest reference to a highly developed system of inter-state relations. The basis of the Arthaśāstra view is a State-system (*maṇḍala*) which consists of an aggregate of Princes radiating from the most ambitious of them all, technically called the *vijigīṣu* ('conquest-seeker'). According to the standard definition of *maṇḍala* (Kauṭilya vi. 2; Kāmandaka xii. 16-19), it comprises besides the *vijigīṣu*, (a) a set of five Princes in front functioning alternately as his foes and his friends but with receding degrees of this relationship according to their distance from the Central Prince, (b) another set of four Princes in the rear similarly functioning alternately as his foes and his friends in the fashion just described, and (c) two neutral Princes. This type of *maṇḍala* consisting of twelve Princes is ascribed by Kām. (xi. 22) to Uśanas and is praised by him (xii. 41) as "the one acknowledged by all." In the same context Kām.

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1) Kalidas NAG, *Les Théories diplomatiques de l'Inde Ancienne et l'Arthaçāstra* (Paris 1923, p. 10) finds in a number of Ṛgvedic texts (III.8.1-2, IV.4.1; ibid. 3, 5 and 8: IV.15.4) evidence of the conquering king and the spies who form one of the pillars of Kauṭilya's diplomacy. In the description of the Battle of the Ten Kings (VII.18.33) he finds (op. cit. p. 12) an anticipation of the political world described by Kauṭilya with King Sudās himself in the *rôle* of Kauṭilya's *maṇḍalādhipa* (head of the State-system). These interpretations are evidently far-fetched.

2) On the above, see the author's work *Hindu Public Life*, Part i, pp. 110-111.

mentions other types of *maṇḍala* according to the view of different authorities, some of whom were certainly known to Kauṭilya. The list of Princes belonging to the *maṇḍala* of the standard type [3]) is as follows:—

1. *Vijigīṣu* ('conquest-seeker'), in the centre
2. *Ari* ('enemy'), in front of No. 1
3. *Mitra* ('ally'), in front of No. 2
4. *Arimitra* (ally of No. 2), in front of No. 3
5. *Mitramitra* (ally of No. 3), in front of No. 4
6. *Arimitramitra* (ally of No. 4), in front of No. 5
7. *Pārṣṇigrāha* ('rearward enemy'), in the rear of No. 1
8. *Ākranda* (enemy of No. 7), in the rear of No. 7
9. *Pārṣṇigrahāsāra* (ally of No. 7), in the rear of No. 8
10. *Ākrandāsāra* (ally of No. 8), in the rear of No. 9
11. *Madhyama* ('intermediate Prince'), adjoining No. 1
12. *Udāsīna* ('neutral Prince'), adjoining No. 11

Such, then, is the famous category of *maṇḍala* which is beyond doubt one of the most notable contributions of the Arthaśāstra to the development of Hindu public life. The severely literary character of this concept is apparent on the surface. We can read it in the conventional numbers of the constituent States and above all in their schematic arrangement

3) In the above we have translated *vijigīṣu*, *madhyama* and *udāsīna* as 'conquest-seeker', 'intermediate Prince' and 'neutral Prince' respectively. Some light is thrown upon their nature by the descriptions of Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka. According to Kauṭilya (vi. 2) the attributes of a *vijigīṣu* are that (a) he shall be endowed with internal qualities of Royalty, (b) he shall be equipped with the elements of sovereignty (*dravyaprakṛti*) and (c) he shall be the fountain of policy. In Kāmandaka (xii. 6) the attributes of a *vijigīṣu* are said to be four-fold: (a) he shall be equipped with the elements of sovereignty, (b) he shall have abounding energy, (c) he shall have striven for conquest and (d) he shall seek for fresh conquest. In the following lines (xii. 7-13) Kāmandaka describes the qualification of a *vijigīṣu*, making out strength (*pratāpa*) to be the most important of them all. In other words the *vijigīṣu* is an able and ambitious Prince possessing the necessary personal and material qualifications for playing the *role* of a conqueror. According to Kauṭilya (vii. 2) the characteristics of a *madhyama* are that (a) he occupies a territory adjacent to the *ari* and the *vijigīṣu*, (b) he is capable of helping them whether they are joined together or at variance, and (c) he is capable of injuring them when they are disunited. The attributes of the *udāsīna* are that (a) he occupies a territory beyond the *ari*, the *vijigīṣu* and the *madhyama* (b) he is stronger than the *madhyama*, (c) he is capable of helping the *ari*, the *vijigīṣu* and the *madhyama* whether they are joined together or at variance, and (d) he is capable of injuring them when at variance. Practically identical with the above is the description in Kāmandaka (xii. 18-19). *Madhyama*, then, is an immediately neighbouring Prince who is sufficently powerful to be of help to the two central figures of the State-system and an obstacle to either of them. The *udāsīna* is a distant Prince who is more powerful than the *madhyama* and who is strong enough to be of help to the *madhyama* and the two central powers as well as an obstacle to either of them. Other definitions of *udāsīna* and *madhyama* are given by the late Smṛti commentators, e.g. Vijñāneśvara on Yājñavalkya (I. 345) and Kullūka on Manu (vii. 153), but they have no relevancy in the present context.

on the basis of their geographical situation. In practice, it is evident that not only would the number of the members vary with changing circumstances, but their relations instead of being permanently fixed by geography would be shaped by the harmony (or conflict) of vital interests [4]). Nevertheless, the *maṇḍala* concept embodies a great advance. It marks the stable (and even stereotyped) grouping of a number of allied and hostile as well as neutral States around the central figure of an ambitious potentate—an Indian Louis XIV or Napoleon. It thus lifts foreign relations to a plane in which they can truly be called inter-national.

Types of foreign policy and their application

Besides introducing into Hindu public life the concept of an elaborate State-system, the early *Arthaśāstra* gives us the first classified list of forms of foreign policy (*guṇas*), together with the principles of their application. These rules, it is needless to say, systematise the branches of foreign policy known at that time. The number of six *guṇas*, as mentioned by the Teacher, comprises the classes *sandhi, vigraha, yāna, āsana, saṁśraya* and *dvaidhībhāva.* We can understand the significance of these terms in the light of their definitions by Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka. From this it appears that *sandhi* means dependant alliance sought by a weak Prince *in extremis* and accompanied with agreement of surrender. *Vigraha, yāna, āsana* and *saṁśraya* mean respectively war, marching, neutrality and seeking protection by a weak Prince from his powerful neighbour. *Dvaidhībhāva* means verbal surrender (evidently with treachery at heart) by a weak Prince to two powerful enemies [5]). A careful consideration of the above shows that some types are more fundamental than the rest. Thus *yāna* and *saṁśraya* evidently differ from their respective prototypes *vigraha* and *sandhi* only in degree, but not in kind, while *dvaidhībhāva* is admittedly a combination of *sandhi* and *vigraha.* Accordingly, we find Vātavyādhi declaring in the context of Kauṭilya (vii. 1)

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4) The exigencies of practical politics compelled the recognition of this fact implicitly in Kauṭilya vii.2 (defining the characteristics of a *śatru* or enemy) and explicitly in the much later *Nītivākyāmṛtam* (p. 321).

5) Kauṭilya (vii.1) defines *sandhi* as agreement based on pledges (*paṇa-bandha*) *vigraha* as hostilities (*apakāra*), *āsana* as indifference (*upekṣaṇa*), *yāna* as accession of strength (*abhyuccaya*), *saṁśraya* as surrender to another (parārpaṇa) and *dvaidhībhāva* as employment of *sandhi* as well as *vigraha.* Somewhat fuller are the definitions of Kāmandaka which are quoted below: "A Prince who is attacked by a powerful enemy, who is without any help, and who is in danger shall seek for *sandhi* and bide his time" (xiv. 1): "*Vigraha* takes place through mutual hostilities of Princes who are seized with impatience and whose hearts are filled with anger" (xv.1): "*Yāna* is marching by the conquest-seeker whose strength and forces are of pre-eminent quality and whose subjects are devoted to him because of his good qualities" (xvi.12): "A Prince placed between two powerful enemies shall verbally surrender himself and adopt, unobserved like the eyes of crows, *dvaidhī-bhāva*" (xiv. 23): "A Prince who is driven out by a powerful enemy and who is without any other help shall seek *saṁśraya* of this still more powerful Prince who is high-born, truthful and pure" (xvi. 27). Actually, however, Kauṭilya takes *sandhi* to include not only treaties between sovereign States for the acquisition of ally, money, land and so forth, but also the acts of reconciliation of a Prince with his discontented subjects (see ibid. vii. 9-12). The different definition of *dvaidhībhāva* in late Smṛti works like *Viṣṇudharmottara* (ii. 150-3-5) and Mitākṣarā and Yājñavalkya (i.346) does not concern us here.

quoted above that *sandhi* and *vigraha* are the only two *guṇas*, of which the rest are the derivatives [6]. Kauṭilya, it would seem, while reverting to the traditional category of six *guṇas*, accepts the soundness of Vātavyādhi's contention, for he says (vii. 1) that the other *guṇas* are variants of *sandhi* and *vigraha* arising from the change in their circumstances [7].

From a quotation in Kauṭilya (vii. 1) it appears that the application of the six-fold policy in the context of certain specific conditions of States was not unknown to the early masters of the science. In the passage there quoted, the Teacher says that the Prince shall adopt *sandhi* when the condition of *sthāna* ('stagnation') is expected to produce equal results within the same time. The full import of this extract is to be understood in the light of Kauṭilya's fuller treatment of the subject. Starting with the category of three conditions of States, Kauṭilya says that *vṛddhi* ('increase') stands for the *guṇa* in which the Prince finds himself competent to undertake his own works and prevent those of the enemy, the 'works' being defined as relating to forts, irrigation-works, trade-routes, colonisation of waste-lands, as well as the working of mines and forests. *Kṣaya* ('decline'), according to the same authority, means the *guṇa* causing hindrance of the Prince's own work, but not that of the enemy. Lastly, *sthāna* ('stagnation') is that *guṇa* which causes neither increase nor diminution of the Prince's own work. In the background of these definitions, Kauṭilya recommends the Prince to follow the *guṇa* leading to *vṛddhi*, but not that causing *kṣaya*. What is more, Kauṭilya shows how the Prince should adopt the policies of *sandhi* or *upekṣā* ('indifference') according as the results of these conditions manifest themselves in the future. It is permissible to think that while the passage from the Teacher quoted above refers to *sthāna* and its future consequences alone, the two other conditions of *vṛddhi* and *kṣaya* along with their tendency to produce prospective results were also known to that early authority.

If the above arguments can be accepted as correct, they would indicate the early Arthaśāstra State as marking an important stage in the development of Hindu public life. For in the first place foreign policy is here regarded as a means of acquiring relative strength, or at least of avoiding relative weakness. In the second place, Kauṭilya's specific references would point to one of the main objectives of international diplomacy in the Arthaśāstra State. This is nothing short of carrying through, and at the same time denying to the enemy, a comprehensive programme of economic and military self-sufficiency, which involves the construction of forts and irrigation-works, colonisation of waste lands and the exploitation of mines and forests.

From another reference in Kauṭilya (ix.1) we learn that the early Arthaśāstra State also knew the application of foreign policy in relation to what is called the 'Power' (*śakti*) of

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6) This almost anticipates the verdict of Hugo Grotius, the father of European international law.

7) On the other hand, Kāmandaka (xvi.40) quotes his master as saying that although *vigraha* is the only *guṇa* of which all the rest are derivatives, the number of *guṇas* should be reckoned as six, since they assume different forms under different circumstances. In an earlier passage (xvi.38) Kāmandaka quotes (without mentioning any authority) the view that *sandhi* and *vigraha* are the only two *guṇas*.

the Prince. In the passage referred to, the Teacher is quoted as declaring *utsāha-śakti* (will-power) to be more important than *prabhāva-śakti* (material power), and the latter again to be more important than *mantra-śakti* (power of deliberation). We can realise the full significance of this text in the light of Kauṭilya's fuller account of the subject. In vi.2 Kauṭilya, immediately after defining the terms *vijigīṣu, ari, mitra, madhyama,* and *udāsīna* referred to above, mentions a category of three *śaktis.* This consists of *mantra-śakti, prabhu-śakti,* and *utsāha-śakti,* which Kauṭilya defines respectively as *jñāna-bala* (strength of knowledge), *kośadaṇḍa-bala* (strength of finance and army), and *vikrama-bala* (strength of valour). Kauṭilya winds up by recommending the Prince to secure for himself *śakti* (power) as well as *siddhi* (fruition). In the context (ix. 1) from which we have quoted above, Kauṭilya asks the 'conquest-seeking Prince' (*vijigīṣu*) to march after making himself sure of his own and the enemy's *śakti* as well as the proper place and time and so forth. We may conclude from the above discussion that the early Arthaśāstra masters knew the category of three 'powers' of the Prince in relation to foreign policy in general and the policy of marching in particular. This introduces us to a new factor in the evolution of Hindu public life, namely, the conception of the State as Power and the application of Power-politics to the sphere of international relations. From the above, it also follows that the Arthaśāstra State, having the sources of its strength in the Prince's qualities of intellect and will and in his possession of army and finance, was fundamentally a secular institution [8]).

The Teacher's comparison of the three Powers of the Prince in the passage quoted above (Kauṭilya ix.1), together with Kauṭilya's criticism of the same, is of high interest as exhibiting different estimates of their relative importance from the pen of two Arthaśāstra authorities. Justifying his preference for *utsāha-śakti* to *prabhāva-śakti,* the Teacher argues that the Prince who is heroic, strong, healthy, and well-armed, can by himself and with the help of his army subdue another Prince possessing merely material power, while the Prince with material power but without will-power is sure to perish. Again, in support of his preference of *prabhāva-śakti* to *mantra-śakti,* the Teacher says that the Prince with the power of deliberation but without material power becomes barren in intellect, while his want of material power destroys his well-thought-out plans, "just as drought destroys the sprouts of seeds." This view, by putting a premium upon will-power, is at the opposite pole of the philosophy of Kauṭilya who ranks deliberation as the foremost power and the power of will as the least important.

We have so far considered the application of the *guṇa* types in the context of what may be called the general characteristics of States. But the early Arthaśāstra occupied itself also with the application of the *guṇas* with reference to their specific circumstances. Beginning with *sandhi,* we find Kauṭilya quoting a view of the Teacher in his chapter (vii.17) on the confirmation of *sandhi* (*sandhi-karma*). According to this view, *sandhi* based on statement

8) The Purohita's *śakti,* it will be noticed, is conspicuous by its absence in the list of *śaktis* given above which includes the powers of finance and the army. On this point, see the author's *Hindu Political Theories,* p. 55.

of truth (*satya*) as well as on oath (*śapatha*) is mutable (*cala*), while *sandhi* supported by security (*pratibhū*) or hostage (*pratigraha*) is immutable (*sthāvara*). Contradicting this view, Kauṭilya emphatically says that the first two kinds of *sandhi* are immutable both in this world and the next, while the other two kinds are really required for wordly use and they depend upon the strength of the security or the hostage [9]). In the above, the Arthaśāstra seems to tackle one of the fundamental questions of international law, namely, whether, and if so how far, treaties are binding on the contracting powers. In the contradictory answers of the two authorities above quoted, we may detect the wide divergence of Arthaśāstra thought on this point. The Teacher, it will be observed, deliberately refused to accord binding force to treaties supported only by moral sanctions, while Kauṭilya as positively affirmed their obligatory character. The above quotation also proves that treaties supported by a security (of a hostage) were known to the early Arthaśāstra State.

As regards the policy of *yāna*, the Teacher is quoted in one place (vii.5) as comparing the relative advantage of marching against a vulnerable Prince in great trouble and an enemy in slight trouble, and giving his decision in favour of the former. In the same context, the Teacher is quoted as declaring that the Prince with impoverished and greedy subjects should be marched against instead of one whose subjects are neglected [10]). For the impoverished and greedy subjects can be easily won over or suppressed, but the subjects who are neglected can only be reduced by controlling the leaders. Kauṭilya quotes both views only to refute them with his counter-arguments. The importance of his quotation, however, lies in showing the dominant part played by the attitude of the subjects in shaping international policy in the Arthaśāstra State.

The sub-types of Sandhi, Vigraha, Āsana and Yāna

It is characteristic of the minuteness of Inter-state relations in the Arthaśāstra that it describes under appropriate technical terms the sub-divisions of the forms of foreign policy above-mentioned. We can safely trace back such analysis from references in Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka to the early Arthaśāstra times. Under the caption *mitra-sandhi* (*sandhi* based on agreement for acquisition of allies by two princes) Kauṭilya quotes (vii.9) the Teacher as comparing successive pairs of allies (*mitra*) from the point of view of the advantage obtainable from them [11]). From this standpoint the Teacher prefers the ally who is long-standing (*nitya*) but not submissive (*avaśya*) to his opposite, and the allies being equally submissive, the one who is of great help (*mahā-bhoga*) but temporary (*anitya*) to his reverse. The Teacher also prefers the ally who is powerful (*mahat*) but difficult to rouse (*guru-samuttha*) to the one who is the reverse, the ally with scattered troops to the one with

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9) The above follows Gaṇapati's explanation instead of Shamasastry's translation.

10) *Apacarita* is explained as 'neglected' by Gaṇapati, but Shamasastry translates it as 'oppressed'.

11) From Kauṭilya's context it appears that the *sandhis* quoted above belong to the class of what are called equal *sandhis* (*sama-sandhi*). In such cases two Princes conclude *sandhi* on the condition that both shall acquire ally or money or land.

unsubmissive troops, the ally supplying troops (*puruṣabhoga*) to the one supplying money (*hiraṇyabhoga*) and the ally supplying money to the one supplying land (*bhūmibhoga*) [12]). Kauṭilya, as usual, quotes the above views only to refute them. Apart from the question of these specific gains, the early Arthaśāstra also compared different types of gains in general. In the context from which we have quoted above (K. vii.9) the Teacher describes his preference of small but quick gain to large but distant gain,—a view which Kauṭilya himself contradicts.

Under the caption *bhūmi-sandhi* (*sandhi* based upon agreement for acquisition of land by two Princes) Kauṭilya quotes the view of the Teacher in the following chapter (vii.10). Here the Teacher declares his preference for land that is rich (*sampanna*) but constantly menaced by the enemy on its borders (*nityāmitra*) to its opposite. This view, as usual, is contradicted by Kauṭilya with counter-arguments [13]). In the next two chapters (vii.11-12) bearing the titles *anavasita-sandhi* (interminable agreement) and *karma-sandhi* (*sandhi* based upon agreement for the construction of military and economic works) Kauṭilya refers to other views of his predecessor. In the former chapter Kauṭilya quotes the Teacher as prefering the creation of forests yielding economic products to those sheltering elephants. In the latter chapter Kauṭilya cites the same authority as preferring elephant forests with few but spirited elephants to those with numerous but tame elephants, mines with costly but scanty yields to those yielding inexpensive but ample products, water-routes to land-routes for commercial traffic and the Himalayan route to the Southern route [14]).

The above extracts suggest a number of reflections. In the first place they indicate some of the broad objectives of international diplomacy in the Arthaśāstra. These comprise the acquisition of concrete gains in the shape of allies, money and land as well as the accomplishment of definite objects in the form of construction of civil and military public works, colonisation of waste lands, exploitation of mines and forests and so forth. In the second

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12) Kauṭilya (vii.9) explains the meaning of the above terms in the lines following his list of the six good qualities of a friend. The friend, he says, who is called *nitya*, protects and is protected out of affection without the sense of self-interest and because of relations previously formed. The *vaśya* friend is of three kinds, according as he confers all-round benefit, or various benefits, or large benefits. The *nitya* but *avaśya* friend is one who whether he receives or gives help lives by practising violence towards his enemies and by lodging himself in forts or forests. The *vaśya* but *anitya* friend is one who, when attacked by an enemy or involved in slight trouble, concludes *sandhi* on condition of doing a service. It therefore follows that the term *nitya* refers to a long-standing and disinterested friend, *vaśya* means a friend who is helpful in different ways, *nitya* but *avaśya* means a friend who is long-standing but acts indifferently. Conversely, the terms *anitya* and *vaśya* refer to a friend who is compelled by his own necessity to offer help.

13) At the beginning of vii.10 Kauṭilya explains *bhūmi-sandhi* to mean agreement between two Princes to the effect that both shall acquire land. In this context he takes *nityāmitra* to mean the land which is bordered by numerous forts as well as by bands of robbers, barbarians and foresters. *Anityāmitra* is land of a reverse character.

14) *Anavasita-sandhi* is explained by Kauṭilya (*loc. cit.*) to mean agreement between two Princes for the colonisation of waste lands. Under the caption *karma-sandhi* Kauṭilya includes agreements for the construction of forts and irrigation works, the creation of forests, the working of mines and the opening-up of trade routes.

place, we find in the arguments of the authors an attempt to assess the military and economic advantages of different classes of allies and different kinds of lands, mines, forests, trade-routes and the like. Let us illustrate this point by a few examples. An ally with troops, says the Teacher in preferring the *puruṣabhoga* to the *hiraṇyabhoga* ally, commands great authority and can, when roused, accomplish all works. Again, he says, in preferring the *hiraṇyabhoga* to the *bhūmibhoga* ally, that money because of its mobility can stand expenditure. Kauṭilya, on the other hand, in refuting the above views, says that unlike troops money is always at hand, while troops as well as all other desired objects can be won by money. Again, he says that both the ally and the money can be acquired by means of land. Evidently the Teacher realises that money (unlike land) was ready for use at any time and that troops (unlike money) could be effectively used for carrying out all works. On the other hand, Kauṭilya understood that money could procure troops and that land could be used for acquiring both money and troops. Again, the Teacher justifying his preference for forests yielding economic products (*dravya-vana*) to those sheltering elephants (*hastivana*) says that the former is the root of all works and yields a rich store, while the latter is just the reverse. Kauṭilya says *per contra* that unlike the *dravya-vana* the *hastivana* cannot be created on many varieties of lands and that elephants bring about the destruction of troops. In prefering the water-route to the land-route, the Teacher says that the former is inexpensive and brings great profit through the huge volume of merchandise carried along it. In justifying the contrary view Kauṭilya says that the water-route is liable to obstruction, it is not open at all seasons, it is attended with great dangers and it is incapable of defence.

Let us turn to other types of *guṇas* in the Arthaśāstras. In his chapter on *Vigraha,* Kāmandaka, after mentioning twenty varieties of wars, gives (xv.16f) alternative lists suggested by other authorities. According to "those versed in varieties of hostilities", says he, wars are of five kinds. These are the wars due to 'a step-mother' (i.e. among step-brothers), those arising from land, those due to women, those due to harsh speech, and those arising from some wrong. In Bāhudantiputra's opinion, continues the same authority, wars are of four kinds, viz. those arising from invasion of land (*bhūmyuparodha*), those due to obstruction of one's power (*śakti-vighāta*), those arising from situation in the territory of an adjacent State (*bhūmyanantara*), and those arising from trouble in the *maṇḍala* (*maṇḍala-kṣobha*). According to Manu's school wars are only of two kinds, viz. those arising from natural causes and those due to artificial causes. Of the authorities quoted above, Bāhudantiputra and the school of Manu are certainly anterior to Kauṭilya. It is possible that the unknown Arthaśāstra authority honoured by the appelation of "those versed in the varieties of hostilities" belonged also to the same early period. In any case, the above quotations bring out vividly the variety of factors leading to wars in the early Arthaśāstra State.

In his chapter on the varieties of *āsana* and *yāna* (vii.4), Kauṭilya quotes the Teacher as holding that should the *vijigīṣu* adopt the policy of *vigṛhyāsana* for arresting the progress of his enemy when the latter is about to march with all his forces against another Prince, the enemy would turn back and crush him. This view is quoted by Kauṭilya only for contradic-

tion. What concerns us, however, in the present place is to note that it proves the acquaintance of the early Arthaśāstra with the composite type of policy which is called 'sitting quiet after declaring war'. We may translate it in modern terms as 'armed neutrality'. It is reasonable to infer that the other variety of *āsana* called *sandhāyāsana* ('neutrality after making *sandhi*') and the two kinds of *yāna* called *vigṛhya-yāna* ('marching after declaring war') and *sandhāya-yāna* (marching after making *sandhi*') which Kauṭilya mentions in the same context were also known to the early Arthaśāstra.

We may refer in the next place to a few quotations illustrating the early Arthaśāstra authors' attitude towards concrete problems as well as general lines of foreign policy. We may first mention the case of a weak Prince compelled to fight against his powerful adversary. The Teacher's view on this point is quoted by Kauṭilya (vii.15) in the course of his description of the circumstances justifying the Prince in seeking refuge in a fort when he is fighting with a powerful enemy. Where some specified conditions are wanting or where the enemy's forces are overwhelmingly strong, says this authority, the Prince shall leave the fort and run away, or else he shall fling himself upon the enemy "like a moth entering a flame". Thus, concludes the Teacher, the Prince would achieve either of two ends, the enemy's defeat or his own destruction. Rejecting this view Kauṭilya says that the Prince shall conclude *sandhi* after weighing his own as well his enemy's chances. In the alternative, he shall strive for success by displaying valour, or else he shall seek safety in flight. In his chapter on Duties of Messengers (xii.1) Kauṭilya quote the views of two other Arthaśāstra authors on the same problem. The weak Prince who is attacked by a powerful enemy, says Bhāradvāja, shall be ever submissive and shall act like a reed in a current of water. For, so runs this thoroughly sophistical and cowardly plea, he who bows to the strong bows to the god Indra. On the other hand, Viśālākṣa advises the Prince in such a case to fight with all his might, for the display of valour destroys all troubles. and besides fighting is the duty of Kṣatriyas, no matter whether it ends in victory or defeat. Between these two extremes lies the view of Kauṭilya who advises the Prince not to be ever submissive (for such a one lives in despair like a sheep separated from its fold) [15]), nor to fight with insufficient forces (for in such a case he would perish like a man attempting to cross the sea without a boat). The Prince, therefore, should take refuge with a powerful sovereign, or else in an impregnable fort. It follows from the above that the policy recommended to the weak Prince by the different Arthaśāstra authorities varies from one extreme of abject surrender to another extreme of reckless fight, Kauṭilya, as usual taking the reasonable view between the two extremes [16]).

Let us next turn to the problem of a Prince who is attacked by an adversary of equal strength. According to a quotation in Kāmandaka (xiv. 16) Bṛhaspati advises the Prince in

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15) The above follows Gaṇapati's reading *sarvatra* and *kulaiḍaka* in place of Shamasastry's readings.

16) It deserves to be mentioned that Kāmandaka xiv.57 quotes Bhāradvāja as urging a weak Prince to fight with all his might against his powerful adversary "like a lion attacking an elephant". Apparently, Kāmandaka's reference is a slip for Viśālākṣa.

such a situation to conclude *sandhi*. This is based on the thoroughly realistic plea that the chances of victory in battle are uncertain, and what is doubtful should not be attempted [17]). Evidently, war for war's sake did not appeal to this master of the Arthaśāstra.

Finally, we may refer to a quotation of two verses of Uśanas from Mahābhārata (xii. 138.193) to illustrate the author's view of the general policy to be followed by a Prince even while at *sandhi*. In this passage we read that a Prince after concluding *sandhi* with a powerful enemy shall proceed cautiously: he shall not trust one who does not enjoy his confidence and he shall not trust too much even one who does so: he shall always make others trust him, but he shall not trust others: thus he shall protect himself in all circumstances [18]). This policy is in keeping with the creed of universal distrust that poisons the whole system of administration in the Arthaśāstra State.

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17) With this we may compare the view of Kauṭilya who advises (vii.2) the Prince, whose chances of *vṛddhi* through *sandhi* and *vigraha* are equal, to adopt the former policy. For, as he explains, loss of men and money, exile, and other evils are attendant on war.

18) With the above we may compare Mahābhārata xii.139.70 f. quoting two verses told by Uśanas to the demon-Prince Prahlāda, this Purāṇic setting being doubtless framed to suit Uśanas's reputed *role* as the preceptor of the demons. Here we read that those who trust enemies, whether honest or otherwise, perish like honey sucked by dry grass.

SKT. *UTSAVA-* 'FESTIVAL"

by

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Primitive man is anxious about the powers of nature, especially about the growth of the crop. He is afraid that after the periodical dying in nature there will be no new life, no resurrection. Hence he has recourse to several rites and other means to awake nature when it sleeps, to rouse the 'daemon of vegetation' and to make him live again, when he seems to have died. As is well known, these means to stimulate or to resuscitate the vital powers of nature may often be called 'festivals'. Originally, festivals were not commemorative, no occasions to give expression to joy, but events bearing upon the cyclical life of nature, especially upon the growth of cereals etc. Dancing and singing which, as a rule, form an important part of a festival further man's consciousness of his own power and refresh his mood; they are suitable to compensate for the sensation of fear and inferiority with regard to the unknown powers of nature, whose activity is beyond the comprehensive faculty of man. Hence these festivals are essentially more or less religious or magical: they exert an invigorating influence not only upon man himself, but also, at least as man takes it, upon nature. Thus the belief has arisen that the divine powers of nature, which are of great moment to the welfare and destiny of man himself, may be influenced by acting and by traditional and periodical rites and ceremonies. Without them the powerfulness of life would be brought to stagnation. Festivals therefore are not merely recreational; on the contrary, primitive peoples regard them as useful work and as things of duty. This may also be gathered from the use Indonesian languages have made of the sanskrit word *kārya-* "affair, duty, business, work". In Sanskrit *devakārya-* and *pitṛkārya-* mean "a rite in honour of the gods,--of the manes" (Mān. Dh. S. 3, 203), in Javanese the meaning "wedding ceremonial" is met with [1]), and in Sundanese the word only means "festival": the circumcision of a child, the receiving in state of a prince etc. are *kariyas*, in Achenese *köröja* means "festival", especially a "wedding-feast" (but here the meaning "work" is known also), in Gajo "wedding, wedding-feast" is the most usual meaning of the word. In Java,

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1) I refer to H. N. VAN DER TUUK, *Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, II (1899), p. 99 f.

Acheen and other parts of the Indian Archipelago feasts are believed to promote good or to ward off ill fortune, to bring about the safe return of a traveller, success in the undertaking, to charm away epidemics etc. And the Christian calendar, which no longer produces natural 'fruits', is intended to nourish spiritual life. "Sans fête la vie ne peut durer. La fête n'est pas une 'détente' permise, et peut-être désirée que prendrait une place à part dans la vie affairée de tous les jours, la fête participe à la vie, est indispensable" [2]).

Thus the people of Posso (Celebes) celebrate, among other ceremonies, a festival of the blacksmith intended to invigorate the members of the community with the power of iron [3]). In many parts of the earth care for the continuance of life of souls after death is not inconsistent with merrymaking, and the mad processions of Hindustan remind one more of a fair than of a funeral pageant. During a festival various games and sports usually take place, which are often in the first place magical or sacred acts. Dancing, which produces vigour in man, produces rain and fertility in nature (magical analogy), single fights further the growth of the crop, races of every kind, pageants and processions are often to be considered as magical ceremonies. The roman ludi, which were celebrated on the birthdays of the gods, especially of the rural gods, intended to "recréer la Terre et tout ce qu'elle porte pour obtenir le renouvellement du monde", on birthdays of prominent men they were 'pro salute', on other occasions they 'renewed' the dead and strengthened the divine power; they were means "pour assurer le renouvellement d'une force surhumaine" [4]). By strengthening the divine power men strengthen themselves: Bhagavadgītā 3, 11 *devān bhāvayatānena* (viz. *yajñena*) *te devā bhāvayantu vaḥ* | *parasparaṃ bhāvayantaḥ śreyaḥ param avāpsyatha*; cp. also R.V. 6, 19, 5-6; 10, 148, 4 etc.

In India too festivals have always had a magical-religious character. The rathayātrā [5]), e.g., was a ceremony of the said kind, and the race of seventeen chariots during the vājapeya is doubtless, as has been stated by Oldenberg [6]), a rite to confer on the sacrificer swiftness, power, victory, "If people are not merry, there will be famine", says the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa 3, 117, 23. The idea that festivals are invigorating and strengthening actions affords, to my mind, the key to the etymology of skt. *utsava-* "festival, joy etc.". According to the Petersburg Dict. (I, 904) *utsava-* "Festtag" is "der Form nach nom. act. von *su-* mit *ud*".

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2) G. VAN DER LEEUW, *L'homme primitif et la religion* (Paris, 1940), p. 68 f., who quotes MALINOWSKY, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1932), p. 209. See also K. A. H. HIDDING, *Gebruiken en godsdienst der Soendaneezen* (Batavia, 1935), p. 31.

3) H. KLUIN, *Het geestesleven der natuurvolken*, p. 178 f., who refers to Alb. C. KRUYT.

4) A. PIGANIOL, *Recherches sur les jeux romains* (Publ. de la faculté des lettres de l'université de Strassbourg, 13, 1923), pp. 137 ff. See, for instance, J. J. MEYER, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation*, Zürich-Leipzig, 1937, passim; G. VAN DER LEEUW, *Religion in essence and manifestation*, London, 1938, ch. 56; THURNWALD, in EBERT, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, s.v. Fest (III, 230); *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, II, 1348, s.v. Feste; W. B. KRISTENSEN, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 44 (1910), p. 1 ff. and the works and papers quoted in these books and articles.

5) See J. J. MEYER, *o.c.*, I, p. 224; II, p. 200; also *WZKM*. 46 (1939), p. 100.

6) H. OLDENBERG, *Religion des Veda*, p. 470.

Sub voce 1. *su-* "auspressen", *ud- su-* "aufregen" (only text Bhāg. Pur. 3, 20, 35) this dictionary (VII, 1020) remarks: "der Bedeutung nach eher zu 2. *su-* (wie auch *utsava-*), which, preceded by *ud* means "aufwärts gehen lassen" (only text Kāṭh. 19, 5). In his commentary on the Sakuntulā, Kale says [7]: "*utsava-*, a festival, from *ud* + *sū-* "to give birth to" (also 3. *sū-* "zeugen, gebären") + suffix *-a-* (the birth of a son being considered as the greatest occasion of joy); or from *sū-* "to perform a sacrifice" (the sacrifices being looked upon as great festivals)". These authors leave the matter there. As I take it, the word must be connected with *su-* "to set in motion, to impel, to rouse etc.".

In the Ṛgveda the word *utsava-* is rather rare; it occurs twice. The Petersburg Dictionary, Grassmann's Wörterbuch and other dictionaries agree on the interpretation of both the texts: „das Unternehmen, Beginnen; die Unternehmung; enterprise". Nevertheless, I must differ with these authorities. R.V. 1, 102, 1 it reads: *imāṃ te dhíyam prá bhare mahó mahīm asyá stotré dhiṣáṇā yát ta ānajé | tám utsavé ca prasavé ca sāsahím índraṃ devāsaḥ śávasāmadann ánu.* The second part of this stanza was rendered by Grassmann [8]: "Dem Indra jauchzten voller Kraft die Götter zu, der siegreich Thaten unternimmt und weiter führt" [9]. According to Geldner [10] this text means: "Dem Indra, der bei Kampffest und Wettrennen der Sieger ist, jubelten die Götter mächtig zu". His remark that "die vielen Hinweise auf Kampf und Sport wohl nur bildlich zu verstehen (sind)" does not seem probable: races, combats etc. are, indeed, often mentioned in Ṛgvedic texts; by these events "(sucht) sich der Opfernde Stärke, Glück, Fruchtbarkeit seiner Felder und Weiber usw. zu sichern" [11]. The preceding victory will give force and power to defeat the enemies, the coming off victorious in a race must bring about the victory in a real battle which is close at hand: one of the special features of the Vājapeya-rite, which was connected with the attainment of great prosperity, was a race in which the sacrificer came off victorious [12]. According to Sāyaṇa (ad T.Br. 2, 7, 13, 4 c, d where the mantra *tam* etc. (R.V. 1, 102, 1 c d) occurs also) *utsava-* means "in the execution of the said sacred act" and *prásava-* "in der Auswirkung des Erfolges dieser" (Geldner).

The other Ṛgvedic text is 1, 100, 8: *tám apsanta śávasa utsavéṣu náro náram ávase táṃ dhánāya.* Here, GRASSMANN has translated *u.*: "in den Kriegsmühen" [13]. The interpretation, given by Geldner, is not quite clear: "An ihn, den Herrn, wenden sich die Herren an den Festtagen der Kraft (d.h. in den Kämpfen) um Beistand, an ihn um Beute". In my

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7) M. R. KALE, *The Abhijñānaśakuntalam of Kālidāsa*[7] (Bombay, 1934), Notes, p. 147.

8) H. GRASSMANN, *Rig-Veda übersetzt*, II, p. 102.

9) Compare the same author in his *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, 883, s.v. 2. *prasava-* 5 "die Unternehmung, besonders in ihrem Fortgange, im Gegensatz zu *utsava-*, was das Beginnen derselben bezeichnet".

10) K. F. GELDNER, *Der Rigveda übersetzt und erläutert* I (1923), p. 119.

11) H. OLDENBERG, *Die Religion des Veda*, pp. 309; 470; 504.

12) Cf., e.g., A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, p. 339 f. I refer also to my paper on the so-called humorous sūktas of the Ṛgveda, which will appear in a volume edited by the Dutch Oriental Society.

13) GRASSMANN, *Rig-Veda übersetzt*, II, p. 100.

opinion, *śavasa utsava-* means "the generating, rousing, setting in motion, stimulating of power (strength, superiority)" [14]), which is exactly the character and object of a 'primitive' festival. Now, 1, 37, 9 the *śavas-* "power" of the Maruts is renewed: *yát sīm ánu dvitā́ śávaḥ*, in several texts the power is intensified and increased: 1, 52, 7 *tvā́ṣṭā cit te yújyaṃ vāvṛdhe śávaḥ*; cp. 8, 64, 13 *várdhā* (viz. Agni) *no ámavac chávaḥ*. In other songs the poet says that power is created or produced: 10, 44, 4 *ójaḥ kṛṣva* (viz. O Indra); cp. also 9, 66, 19; *bhadra-* "luck, good fortune" and *sarvatāti-* "completeness, being unhurt and uninjured" too, are produced: 5, 81, 2; 3, 55, 11; 10, 36, 14 and the verb used in these texts is *su-* (*pra-su-*, *ā-su-*). As solemn speech, singing etc. is a means to strengthen a god etc. (e.g. 1, 52, 7 ... *bráhmāṇīndra táva yā́ni várdhanā*; 5, 11, 5 *tvā́ṃ gíraḥ ... ā́ pṛṇanti śávasā vardháyanti ca* "the songs fill thee (O Agni), with power and strengthen thee"; 8, 3, 3 *imā́ u tvā (Indra) ... gíro vardhantu yā́ máma*; 4 *ayáṃ sahásram ṛ́ṣibhiḥ sáhaskṛtaḥ*; 3, 32, 3 *yé te śúṣmaṃ yé táviṣīm ávardhann árcanta indra marútas ta ójaḥ*), we may expect that other magico-religious acts have the same result.

Although the word *utsava-* is rare in the Ṛgveda, the notion it expresses is closely related to the idea expressed by the term *āji-* "a running or fighting match". PISCHEL [15]) identified the two notions: "Im Wettkampf des Indra" (1, 176, 5 *ājāv Indrasya*) kann nur heissen „im Wettkampf zu Ehren des Indra". *ājāv Indrasya* entspricht dem klassischen *Indrotsave* oder *bhagavataḥ Saṃkarasya yātrāyām* u. dgl.". Pischel has perhaps strained the point, but it seems certain that the expressions *ājā Yamasya* etc. mean "in the race in honour of Yama", i.e. "... which intend to strengthen Yama". The conception that Indra and other gods are strengthened is very common in the Ṛgveda; we even meet with texts where *śávase* has been added: 1, 81, 1 *índro mádāya vāvṛdhe śávase vṛtrahā́ nṛ́bhiḥ* where by the aid or influence of men, Indra has become strong 'for enthusiasm and for power'.

There is another expression meaning the procreation or the bringing forth of strength (swiftness etc.), viz. *vājasya prasava-*: Ath. Veda 7, 6, 4 *vā́jasya nú prasavé mātáraṃ mahī́m áditiṃ nā́ma vácasā karāmahe*, rendered by Whitney-Lanman [16]): "Now, in the impulse of might, will we commemorate(?) with utterance the great mother". Although in this text this translation will perhaps do, the interpretation "Zeuger der Kraft", proposed by Weber [17]), is, in my opinion, more correct, provided that we modify it here into "Zeugung der Kraft". In the same way I should like to translate Ath. V. 3, 20, 8 *vā́jasya nú prasavé sáṃ babhūvimemā́ ca víśvā bhúvanāny antáḥ* "at the generating of strength [18]) we have come into being, and all these beings within". As has been supposed by Geldner [19]) R.V. 1, 102, 1 (*utsavé ca*) *prasavé* (*ca*) may be explained as *vā́jasya prasavé*; and this inter-

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14) Indra, who RV. 8, 58, 4 is called *sunu- satyasya*, is 4, 24, 1 *śavasaḥ sūnu-* and 8, 81, 14 *putra- śavasaḥ*.

15) R. PISCHEL in PISCHEL und GELDNER, *Vedische Studien* I (1889), p. 172.

16) W. D. WHITNEY-Ch. R. LANMAN, *Atharva-Veda Saṃhitā* I (1905), p. 393.

17) WEBER, *Über den Vājapeya, Sitz. Ber. Berlin* 1892, p. 796 f.

18) "In the impulse of vigor(?)" Whitney-Lanman.

19) GELDNER, *o.c.*, p. 119.

pretation is not inconsistent with Geldner's other supposition ("Wettrennen, Lauf", cf. 3, 33, 2 and 4).

Manu 3, 59 *tasmād etāḥ sadā pūjyāḥ* ... | *bhūtikāmair narair nityaṃ satkāreṣūtsaveṣu ca* "hence men who seek (their own) welfare, should always honour women on holidays and festivals ..." [20]); here Kullūka explains *satkāreṣu* by *kaumudyādiṣu* (*kaumudī*: the day of full moon in the month "Kārtika", dedicated to the god Kārtikeya), *utsaveṣu* by *upanayanādiṣu* "the ceremony of introducing a young member of the three higher ranks unto a teacher"; this ceremony and the other saṃskāras that follow it are essentially 'sacraments' whose aim is to make the young man fit for the next period of his life. Manu 9, 84, where the text has *abhyudayeṣu,* Kullūka explains *vivāhādyutsaveṣu*; now, *abhyudaya-* means "rising (of the sun), ascent, success,welfare, good fortune", and also "festival", viz. a high day or a happy event in a family, such as birth, wedding and so on, on the occasion of which a śrāddha takes place; the brahmans who are invited, are addressed as Nāndīmukha "joyful in countenance", instead of "with tearful countenance", which is elsewhere not seldom met with. This rite is performed for the benefit of the dead.

Mahābhārata 4, a. 13 a celebration, *mahotsava-*, in honour of Brahmā is described (see esp. vs. 14 ff.), in which wrestling and gladiatorial games are played; in the contest Bhīma slays a famous wrestler. According to Nīlakaṇṭha this festival takes place in autumn, when the young corn comes forth: *brahmaṇa utsavaḥ śaradi navadhānyotpattau sarvaiḥ kriyate sa ca deśaviśeṣe prasiddhaḥ.* The opinion expressed by Hopkins [21]) that these gladiatorial games etc. were played as if the Father God were still a god delighting in destruction, is, to my mind, not correct; wrestling and bloody contests do not necessarily prove that the ceremony aims at destruction, they may also be interpreted as generating power [22]).

Mbh. 5, 176, 46 a svayaṃvara is called an *utsava-*: *kanyānimittaṃ viprarṣe tatrāsīd utsavo mahān*; 2, 210, 22 Nīlakaṇṭha explains the word *u.* as follows: *yātrā vivāhādiḥ*; in the same chapter, vs. 1, *utsava-* is used in connection with festivities in connection with the returning of Sunda and Upasunda to their town; everybody was glad, there was eating, drinking, singing, giving (alms, food etc.) and rejoicing in various ways. According to a wide-spread popular belief eating etc. generate power, not only the physical force of the man who eats, but also fertility in nature etc. [23]). Mbh. 3, 207, 9 in a description of a *nagarī ramyā* it reads: *hṛṣṭapuṣṭajanākīrṇām nityotsavasamākulām,* and vs. 6 the town is called *yajñotsavavatīm*: worship, sacrifices and feasts belong together.

A very important text is Rām. 2. 67, 15, in which in a praise of kings the author says [24]): *nārājake janapade prahṛṣṭanaṭanartakāḥ | utsavāś ca samājāś ca vardhante rāṣṭravardhanāḥ*

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20) As to the text see BÜHLER, S.B.E. 25, p. 85, n.

21) E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, *Epic Mythology* (1915), p. 196.

22) I refer to MEYER, *o.c.*

23) See e.g. my treatise on the origin of the Indian drama, *Acta Orientalia* 19, p. 395 ff.

24) See also A. HILLEBRANDT, *Über die Anfänge des indischen Dramas, Sitz. Ber. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1914, 4, p. 9.

"in a kingless realm do not thrive festivals and festal assemblies where naṭas and nartakas are delighted and which make strong the kingdom" [25]). In the commentary of Rāma *utsavāḥ* is explained by *devādyutsavāḥ,* which is quite correct, for these festivals are essentially religious, and *samājāḥ* by *tattadrāṣṭrakāryasiddhiprayojanāḥ samūhāḥ* "gatherings the purpose of which is the success of various state-affairs". Here too, the strengthening effect of these *utsavāḥ* has been clearly expressed [26]).

The 6th chapter of the Dásakumāracarita opens with a description of a festival: *so 'ham ... suhmeṣu dāmaliptāhvayasya nagarasya bāhyodyāne mahāntam utsavasamājam alokayam* "...in a garden outside of the city I saw a festive gathering crowded with people": the daughter of the Suhma king had to revere the goddess Pārvatī (who had given two children to her father) by means of a dance accompanied by a game at ball (*kandukanṛtya-*) to obtain an excellent husband". Here too the magico-religious aim of the ceremony, which is called a *kandukotsava-,* is evident. Elsewhere in the same novel (ch. 2) [27]) Daṇḍin sets forth how an *utsavottaro maṅgalavidhiḥ* has to be performed for a young girl, who is destined to be a courtesan, on her birthday and on a 'holy day' (*puṇyadine*): an auspicious ceremony followed by (accompanied by) an *utsava-*.

Yātrās and suchlike occurrences which in general have a magico-religious character in connection with fertility and the transition of the seasons [28]), may be called *utsavāḥ* or *mahotsavāḥ,* cf. e.g. Rājataraṅgiṇī 1, 222 *kramāt pravavṛte so 'tha naṭacāraṇasaṃkulaḥ | prekṣilokasamākīrṇas tatra yātrāmahotsavaḥ.* An *Udayanotsava-* (see Harṣa, Priyad. 3, 3 +) is a festival instituted to celebrate the marriage of king Udayana and Vāsavadattā; the ladies of the gynaeceum have to meet in the garden of Love: these festivities too were originally ceremonies to further fertility and to strengthen the potency of the powers of nature [29]).

The verb *ud-su-* is found Kāṭh. 19,5 ... *ud u tiṣṭha svadhvarordhva ū ṣu ṇa ūtaya ity ūrdhvām eva varuṇamenim utsuvati,* "... 'arise, thou of fair sacrifice', 'arise, erect to aid us' with these verses he sends aloft the wrath of Varuṇa that is in him"; the parallel text TS. 5, 1, 5, 3, however, has ... *iti sāvitrībhyām ut tiṣṭhati, savitṛprasūta evāsyordhvāṃ varuṇamenim utsṛjati.*

If I am right in assuming for *utsava-* the original meaning "the generating, stimulating, producing (viz. of power)", it will be interesting to cast a glance at some cognate words. Savitar [30]), the original meaning of whose name was still felt for a long time, is the great 'Stimulator god', the great impeller or stimulator of life and motion in the world; he awakes man to do his work and the priests to perform their sacrifices, he drives away the evil spirits, he gives the gods and men immortality, he conveys the souls of the deceased to the place

25) See also J. GONDA, *o.c.*, p. 360.

26) As to the conception of *siddhi-*, see GONDA, *o.c.*, p. 437.

27) Ed. GODBOLE-PANSIKAR[10] (Bombay, 1925), p. 79.

28) See my treatise on the Indian drama (*o.c.*), passim.

29) See my treatise on the Indian drama (*o.c.*), especially p. 430 ff.

30) See OLDENBERG, *Die Religion des Veda* (ed. 1923), p. 63 f. Compare also A. HILLEBRANDT, *Vedische Mythologie*[2] II (1929), p. 100 f.; A. A. MACDONELL, *Vedic Mythology* (Grundriss), § 15.

where the righteous dwell. His name is derived from the root *su-*, which is very often used to express the arousing, impelling and stimulating action of this god [31]. At times this stimulating activity becomes a creating or producing one, then again a granting or a determining one [32]. The semantic development of the nouns *sava-* and *prasava-* is the same. In the Śatap. Br. 1, 7, 4, 8 we are told how a part of the sacrifice, which had burnt out the eyes of Bhaga and knocked out the teeth of Pūṣan, was 'impelled' ('influenced') by Savitar, so that it did not injure Bṛhaspati [33]: *sa bṛhaspatiḥ savitāram eva prasavāyopādhāvat. savitā vai devānāṃ prasavitedaṃ me prasuveti tad asmai savitā prasavitā prāsuvat tad enaṃ savitṛprasūtaṃ nāhinat tato 'rvācīnaṃ śāntam* ... Here the influence (*prasava-*) of Savitar neutralizes magico-religious power. Now, in the Ṛgveda, the dative *savāya* is met with several times. The translation, given by Geldner ("die Weisung"), seems to be incorrect: 2, 38, 1 S. has risen "for influencing": he grants the *ratna-* (immortality or the offerings) to the gods and to him who invites to sacrifices he gives a share of happiness; 3, 56, 7 the impulsion consists in granting the *ratna-*. 1, 113, 1 *yáthā prásūtā savitúḥ savā́yaṁ evā rā́try uṣáse yónim āraik* seems to mean: "as the night itself has arisen (has been impelled, created) to be impelled (influenced) by S. ..."; 4, 54, 5 the mountains *tasthuḥ savitaḥ savā́ya te*: the translation given by Geldner does not satisfy me: „so standen sie doch auf deine Weisung still, o.S.", for it is Indra by whose order the mountains remained firm; I should prefer to translate· "the mountains remained firm to be impelled by you": if they ever will move again, S. will be the impeller [34]; 5, 82, 6 ... *devásya savitúḥ savé | víśvā vā́māni dhīmahi* "may we through the influence of S. possess all boons". The *sava-* of S. is a purifying influence: 9, 67, 25 *ubhā́bhyāṃ deva savitaḥ pavítreṇa savéna ca | mā́m punīhi viśvátaḥ* [35]. The word *prasava-* is almost always used to express the notion "impulse": RV. 3, 33, 4; 6; 11; sometimes the impulse originates with Indra: 8, 89, 12; 10, 111, 8, sometimes with Savitar: 10, 139, 1; 5, 81, 5 "Thou alone art the lord of stimulation (impulse)"; 6, 71, 2 *nivéśane prasavé ca*; 5, 42, 9 and 7, 82, 4 the impulse consists in favour: *prasavé vāvṛdhanā́n* and *kṣémasya prasavé*; 1, 102, 9, *índraḥ kṛṇotu prasavé ráthaṃ puráḥ*, the word *p.* expresses a notion which is almost identical with that expressed by *utsava-* (cf. the 1st stanza): *yuddhotpattau* (Sāyaṇa), "Wettrennen" (Geldner).—By his "impelling" S. grants the fulfilment of wishes: ŚBr. 2, 3, 4, 39 *tatho hāsmā ete savitṛprasūtā eva sarve kāmāḥ samṛdhyante* "and thus all his (the sacrificer's) wishes are fulfilled, 'impelled' as they are

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31) I refer to MACDONELL, *o.c.*, p. 34.

32) The texts are counted up in GRASSMANN's *Dictionary*, 1560 f.

33) I do not adhere to the view expressed by various scholars (see e.g. VON SCHROEDER, *o.c.*, p. 105; J. EGGELING, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa translated* I, *SBE*. 12 (1882), p. 211, n. 3; A. A. MACDONELL, *A vedic reader*, p. 11) that the consistent use of derivations of the same root is only a play on the name of the god and an artificial device: see my book *Stilistische studie over Atharvaveda I-VII* (1938), especially p. 64 ff.

34) Compare S. Br. 2, 3, 1, 37; 38 *tat savitṛmat prasavāya* "it (the sacrifice) becomes possessed of S. for his impulsion".

35) I refer to MACDONELL, *Vedic Mythology* (1897), p. 34.

by S." (= 3, 9, 1, 20). An instructive text is SBr. 5, 3, 5, 8 *sa juhoti. yāni purastād abhiṣekasya juhoty agnaye svāheti, tejo vā agnis, tejasaivainam etad abhiṣiñcati, somāya svāheti, kṣatraṃ vai somaḥ, kṣatreṇaivainam e.a., savitre svāheti, savitā vai devānāṃ prasavitā, savitṛprasūta evainam e.a.*, etc. Here *tejasā, kṣatreṇa* etc. and *savitṛprasūta-* are, in a sense, on a par. The 'influence' of S. confers a quality upon the officiating priest which may be compared with *tejas-, kṣatra-* etc. conferred upon the person who is consecrated. See also 6, 5, 4, 11 [36]).

Boehtlingk and Roth [37]) are right in deriving from the same root the word *sava-* to denote a solemn consecration (*abhiṣeka-*) for special ceremonies of considerable variety. According to a commentary quoted by them the word has to be explained: *sūyata īśvaratvenābhiṣicyata eṣv iti savā ekāhaviśeṣāḥ.* And, accordingly, Caland remarks: "Die Savas sind eigentlich 'Weihungen zu...'" [38]). Taitt. Br. 2, 7 and Āpast. Śr. S. 22, 25-28 deal with a number of these savas which are accounted as forms of the soma-offerings of one day. A brahman who desires priestly prestige (social consideration as a learned priest) or who wishes to be employed as a purohita must perform the Bṛhaspatisava and also the man who wishes to be anointed to hold the office of a sthapati (governor or chief-judge?) (Āpast. 22, 7, 5 ff.). The Pṛthisava (id., 22, 25, 14 ff.) has to be performed to obtain cattle; this rite and the Somasava (id. 9 ff.) are simplified forms of the Rājasūya. The man who desires unlimited power has recourse to the Gosava (id. 22, 12, 17 ff.); 20 the yajamāna has to be sprinkled or 'anointed' with fresh milk: "now his strength increases... I anoint you with the unlimited sovereignty of Prajāpati". The Odanasava is required when the yajamāna desires food: id. 22, 26, 7 Agni is implored to confer upon him a full life and vital power. The Agniṣṭut (id. 22, 6, 5 ff.) is a sava for a person who is impure and wishes to become pure. Another sava the Indrastut-Indrastoma (22, 27, 13 ff.), confers courage or power upon the yajamāna. There is also a *rājābhiṣeka*, the consecration of a king (id. 22, 28, 1 ff.), which confers upon him royal dignity, long life, vital power, wealth, health, courage, etc. The vighana (22, 13, 12) destroys ill-luck and rivalry. The cayana (i.e. Agniṣava), the rājasūya [39]) ("the ceremony of consecrating a king") and the vājapeya, a sacer ludus which, by means of a race, confers the swiftness and strength of the horses upon the sacrificer, are essentially savas too. From these texts it is clear that a consecration, a bestowing of power or the fulfilment of a wish are connected with them.

Accordingly the verb *su-* expresses not only such conceptions as "impelling, quickening, instigating, exciting" and "imparting, creating", but also such as "setting power in motion, to make power active", hence "(impelling), stimulating, influencing in general", "bestowing power upon persons etc., consecrating etc." RV. 7, 40, 1 the verb is used without an object:

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36) As to the formula *devasya savituḥ prasave* see VON SCHROEDER, *o.c.*, II, p. 104 f.

37) *Petersb. Dict.* VII, 841.

38) W. CALAND, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, III (*Verh. Kon. Akad. v. Wet. te Amsterdam, Lett.*, N.R. 26, 4; 1928), p. 318 (ad 22, 7, 5).

39) This °*sūya-* too belongs to the same root *su-*.

yád adyá deváḥ savitā́ suvā́ti syā́māsya ratníno vibhāgé and the activity it expresses is a creating and a granting one. RV. 4, 54, 4 *yát pṛthivyā́ várimann ā́ ... suvā́ti satyám asya tát*: Geldner translates: "Was (S.) auf der ganzen Weite der Erde... bestimmt, das wird bei ihm zur Wahrheit"; it would appear to me that "what (S.) ... has influenced by his stimulating activity that becomes reality for him" will be a more adequate rendering. RV. 1, 164, 26 *śréṣṭhaṃ saváṃ savitā́ sāviṣan no* has been translated by Geldner: "Die beste Anweisung soll uns Savitṛ geben"; "S. will in the best way set in motion his influencing power for us". AV. 6, 1, 3 the same god "sets in motion for us many amṛtas unto welfare"; RV. 4, 54, 2 he imparts *amṛtatvam* ("immortality") to the gods; 5, 42, 3 *vasūni* ("wealth") to men; 6, 71, 6 goods; 5, 82, 4 *saubhagam* ("happiness, bliss"); AV. 7, 14, 3 he is implored to 'impel' to men desirable things, abundance of cattle and 14, 1, 33 he "shall quicken (kine) for this man" (Whitney-Lanman). The same use is met with in the Avesta: Y. 31, 15 *yə drəgvāitē xšaθrəm hunāitī* "who wishes to impart sovereignty to the adherent of *druj*-"; Y. 35, 5 ("etwas antreiben nach Jemand hin (Dat.), einem etwas zu verschaffen suchen", Bartholomae). Now, there is an interesting text in the Ait. Br. (8, 5, 2): *sūyate ha vā asya kṣatraṃ, yo dīkṣate kṣatriyaḥ san*; these words which form part of the description of the *Punarabhiṣeka* are translated by Keith [40]: "his lordly power is consecrated who being a kṣatriya consecrates himself". The commentary, however, runs as follows: ... *asya puruṣasya kṣatraṃ ... sūyate, pravartate*, "his lordly power rises, becomes valid" and this interpretation makes us see how "to set in motion power or powerful (strengthening) influence" develops into "to consecrate". To a curious stanza of the Ath. V., 14, 1, 43 *yáthā sindhur nadī́nāṃ sā́mrājyaṃ suṣuvé vṛ́ṣā | evā́ tváṃ samrā́jñy edhi*, Whitney-Lanman, who translate as follows: "As the ... river won(?) the supremacy of the streams, so be thou supreme" [41]), add this remark: "*suṣuve*, lit. 'impelled for one's self' is employed here in an unusual sense". But why should not *suṣuve* mean "has set in motion, has roused, has made active (effective) for one's self"? The river called *sindhu-* (perhaps nomen proprium) has made the supremacy of the *nadīḥ* effective in its behalf. Maitr. Up. 6, 16 we find a passive form which according to Boethlingk and Roth means "in Thätigkeit gesetzt werden" [42]): *vigrahavān eṣa kālaḥ ... eṣa tatsthaḥ savitākhyo yasmād eveme candrarkṣagrahasaṃvatsarādayaḥ sūyante*; the commentary explains: *abhisūyante, āpyāyante* (*āpyāyante* means "become full, rich, strong") *svatejaḥpraveśanenety arthaḥ*, "this embodied time ... yonder (orb) called the sun, abides therein (as its cause), from which (which is the origin that...) the moon etc. move". When a person is the object of the verb, it means (+ *abhi-*) Kāṭh. 13, 2 "begaben mit" (B. and R.): *pāpmanaivainam abhiṣuvati* (after *mṛtyunaivainaṃ grāhayati*), Taitt. Br. 2, 7, 5, 1 *yo vai somena sūyate* the commentator explains by *niṣpadyate* "ripens, is accomplished".

Taitt. Saṃh. 5, 6, 3, 2 the etymological connection with *sava-* is clear: *asmai savān pra*

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40) A. B. KEITH, *Rigveda Brahmanas* . . *translated* (1920), 8, 5, 2.

41) According to Kauś. sū. 75, 27 the verse accompanies the emergence of the bride from the bath.

42) E. B. COWELL, *Maitr. Upan.* (*S.B.E.*, 1862) has translated the verb by "are born", adding "or 'ar nourished by entering into its light' ".

yacchanti. ta enam suvante "they confer 'consecrations' upon him; they consecrate him". This meaning is often met with in the language of the Brāhmaṇas, p. e. S.Br. 5, 3, 1, 3; 4, 3, 23; Taitt. S. 5, 6, 3, 1. Occasionally, however, another translation must be preferred. The formula *savitā tvā savānāṃ suvatām, agnir gṛhaspatīnām* etc. (VS. 9, 39; S.Br. 5, 3, 3, 11; Āp. Śr. 18, 12, 6 etc., Ved. Conc. 995) has with good reason been rendered by Caland [43]) as follows: "S. soll dich zur Herrschaft über die Geheisse ... ermächtigen" [44]), and the next formula *imaṃ devāḥ ... suvadhvam mahate kṣatrāya* etc. (Ved. Conc. 231) in this manner: "Ihr Götter ... ermächtigt diesen ... zu grosser Herrschaft". S.Br. 13, 4, 2, 17 *yat kiṃ ca janapade kṛtānnaṃ sarvaṃ vas tat sutam* "and whatever prepared food there is in the country, is 'ermächtigt' to be your food". That in the conception expressed by the verb *su-* was implied the idea of "to enable oneself to obtain something by rousing power" appears e.g. from S.Br. 5, 2, 3, 9 *athāgrayaṇeṣṭyā yajate ... devasṛṣṭo vā eṣeṣṭir yad āgrayaṇeṣṭir. anayā me 'piṣṭam asad, anayāpi sūyā iti. tasmād āgrayaṇeṣṭyā yajata. oṣadhīr vā eṣa sūyamāno 'bhi sūyate. tad oṣadhīr evaitad anamīvā akilviṣāḥ kurute. 'namīvā akilviṣā oṣadhīr abhi sūyā iti* "... may I be consecrated for (the obtainment of) healthy and faultless plants".

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43) W. CALAND, *Das Srautasūtra des Āpastamba*, III, p. 137.

44) The two translations proposed by J. EGGELING (SBr. 5, 3, 3, 11, SBE) are incorrect.

THE COMING OF MUSLIM CULTURAL INFLUENCE IN THE PANJAB HIMĀLAYA

by

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Ancient and modern India are separated by the coming of Islam. The successive Arab and Turkish invasions established a Muslim domination lasting 600-1200 years, and this domination could in the long run not fail deeply to influence also the whole style of Hindu life. Though Hindu civilization had, on the whole, been more refined than that of the contemporary Muslim countries, it had also been more isolated from the great currents of human progress which passed over the trade routes through the Muslim countries. Thus the latter could contribute many valuable new inventions to Indian life. Muslim political superiority even was in a considerable measure due to this control over new inventions not yet introduced amongst the Hindus. Muslim weapons, military tactics and fortification technique were far superior to those of their Hindu contemporaries, and the use of paper permitted them for several centuries an administrative centralization superior to contemporary loose Hindu feudalism. On the other hand had the Hindu opponents of the Muslims been no more the direct carriers of ancient Indian cultural achievements. They had been frontier men or provincials whom the Hūna-Gurjara invasions of the 5th-7th centuries had carried to power, or internal convulsions such a result periodically from the degeneration of refined societies. Though after some generations they had themselves brought forth a refined traditionalist court culture, their landed aristocracy and peasantry had hardly been affected by these achievements. This court culture, therefore, was practically wiped out with the fall of the Hindu kingdoms before the Muslim attacks. It is true that afterwards, especially between ca. 1360 and 1630, and again between 1740 and 1830, Hindu tradition saw successive renaissances under Vijavanagar, Rājput and Marātha rulers. But these were artificial revivals which could reconstruct temple architecture and sculpture or learned Sanskrit literature, but had very little influence on all practical aspects of life. There, either Muslim innovations were taken over, or the national spirit of the new Hindu classes found at last its own genuine way of self-expression, setting aside both foreign and antiquarian influences.

This important transition phase in the history of Indian civilization, however, has so

far been hardly studied. It has generally been assumed that during the heyday of Mughal power in the 17th century most Muslim innovations were accepted by the Hindus. Though there is some truth in this assumption, the actual process of assimilation was much slower, longer and more complicated. And it varied very much from province to province, from state to state. In this study I intend to analyze the aspect which it assumed in the Panjāb Himālaya, at the hand of material collected during research tours undertaken in 1937, 1939 and 1947. This material, however, would have proved incomprehensible without the historical and archaeological pioneer work of my beloved teacher Professor J. Ph. Vogel, without his researches in the history and archaeology of Chambā State, and his and Dr. J. Hutchison's History of the Panjāb Hill States. No better tribute can be paid by a pupil to his guru than the continuation of his researches, be it even in only one branch of such a comprehensive and profound life work.

Before approaching our subject, it is perhaps not out of place first to discuss a general phenomenon connected with the process of cultural transition to the bearing of which on the history of Indian civilization has so far not been paid sufficient attention: The phenomenon of the time-lag in the migration of cultural goods. Thus, e.g. Gothic art flourished in Great Britain and Spain when in Italy and France it was superseded by the Italian Renaissance, and Italian cultural influence in Austria, France, England and Spain was strongest when Italy was already declining under the Hapsburg yoke. Gupta influence was strongest in Chinese art after the collapse of Gupta civilization, and Achaemenian influence strongest in Maurya art after the Achaemenian Empire had already disappeared. And never before European cultural influence had been so overwhelming than just in our own days when Europe has already lost her dominant world position. This our own experience makes it easy to explain the phenomenon. A flourishing and still growing civilization absorbs all its best artists, scholars, writers, engineers, politicians. It exports only the offal of its productions, and only few first-class creations reach other countries, admired, but in most cases beyond the reach of most foreigners. A declining civilization, on the other hand, can maintain its exports only by selling its most refined products, and even then has a surplus of experts who, driven by misery or political persecution, are willing to accept jobs in "barbarian" countries. But as the phenomenon repeats itself in a minor measure even with borrowed cultural goods, we are confronted with repeated series of migrations until traditions land in some secluded corner where, as folk customs or art, they may for centuries and millennia survive the models which had originally inspired them.

Thus we might a priori assume that also in the Panjāb Himālaya the principal periods of Muslim influence had coincided with those of Muslim political decline in the plains and that even then they started rather late. For the small states would probably have received most innovations only second-hand. There might even exist a time-lag between the cultural change in the exterior and the interior hills. Now let us compare these theoretical probabilities with the evidence of the monuments.

The first result of the Muslim invasions into the Panjāb was a Golden Age of Hindu art in the Himālaya. It is true that in 1009 sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī took the almost im-

pregnable hill fort of Kāṅgṛā (Nagarkot), situated on perpendicular cliffs between the gorges of the Bangangā and Mānjhi, two tributaries of the Beās River, and carried away the fabulous treasures of the Sāhī kings of Wahind. But else the mountains had little to attract him and he preferred to extend his raids into the wealthy kingdoms of Northern and Central India. Though Nagarkot was held by the Muslims until 1043, and again 1051-52, the kingdoms of the Panjāb Himālaya enjoyed, on the whole, peace and prosperity under Mahmūd's weak successors, struggling to defend themselves against Saljuks, Ghorids and Hindus. Partly this was due to the fact that Hindu trade to Kashmīr had now been deflected to the route through the exterior Sivaliks, partly, however, it must have been the result of an immigration of refugees from the Sāhī kingdom. For the temple style of this period reveals several trends, one of Kashmīr influence, another, in Kumāon (Dwārahāt, Baijnāth, Katārmal, etc.) and in reconstructed Kāṅgṛā Fort (Darsanī Darwāza, Lakshmī-Nārāyan and Sītalā Temples) coming from the flourishing Hindu states of the Ganges plain, and a third, rich yet barbarian, in Chambā, Balor and Babbor, which seems to have been introduced from the Western and Central Panjāb.

The second wave of the Muslim invasion which was initiated by the two battles of Tarāin 1190 and 1192 and the collapse of the Rājput kingdoms of Northern and Central India after the death of Prithvī Rāj III had different consequences. Now it was Nepāl which profited by the immigration of cultured refugees from Buddhist Bihār and Bengal. West of Nepāl, howover, the consequences were disastrous. A few years ago (1160-86) the Chauhān rājās had reconquered the Eastern Panjāb from the last Yamīnīs, and the rājās of Trigarta and lords of Kāṅgṛā had fought by their side against the invaders at Tarāin. Now the hills were overrun by innumerable brahmin and kshatriya refugees whom Jayachandra of Trigarta and Vijayavarman of Chambā first occupied as mercenaries, but who upset the whole social order when this proved no more possible. The Hindu Himālaya thus relapsed into a chaos of anarchy and barbarism lasting between 150 and 300 years during which rāna fought rana, and thākur fought thākur, whereas the rājās sank down to helpless figure heads, and art and literature disappeared. Only Trigarta preserved a remnant of its former power, but even that was broken by the capture of Kāṅgṛā Fort during Muhammad Tughluq's crazy expedition 1337. His army perished in the hills, probably as a result of a guerilla war for which the Sivaliks are excellently suited, but which was to undermine not less the prestige of Trigarta. From that moment onward the smaller kingdoms began to emerge again from the complete obscurity into which they had disappeared at the end of the 12th century. Neither had Fīrōz Shāh's invasion about 1365 serious consequences beyond a nominal acknowledgment of the suzerainty of Delhī which an inscription of Sansār Chand I, in the reign of Muhammed Shāh Sayyid, makes probable.

Khaljī imperialism had been built on the depredation of India. Thus Muhammad Tughluq's attempts to squeeze, by means of an increasing terrorism, from an exhausted empire the wealth already drained off by his predecessors, drove even his own officers to rebellion. When practically all Muslim governors had risen in revolt against the sultān of Delhī, also the hour of a Hindu renaissance came. From Fīrōz Shāh to Akbar the Muslim

history of India is a story of provincial sultanates defying the rulers of Delhī and warring with each other, and of district chiefs, Hindu as well, as Muslim, defying the authority also of the smaller sultanates. From their retreats in mountain fortresses and from the obscurity of tolerated despised zamindars and robber chieftains the Hindu kshatriyas reconquered and consolidated their kingdoms, often defeated, but never broken. When the Bahmanīs fought against Delhī, Vijayanagar rose in the South, when Gujarāt and Mālva broke away, Rājputāna became independent, when Tīmūr invaded the Panjāb, the hour of the Himālayan hill states had come. Parallel with this political renaissance went a cultural revival, a new art, a new folk literature, a new popular mystic religiosity. Expert architects were invited from Gujarāt not only to Rājputāna, but also to Kumāon under the next successors of Garuṛ Gyān Chand (inscriptions dated 1367-1419) who had attempted to build up a hill empire (temples of Champāvat and Dvārahāt), whereas a more primitive building style, with almost plain walls, crude pillars and architravs, and stepped pyramid roofs, was introduced from Rājputāna by Sansār Chand I of Kāṅgṛā (ca. 1430-50) and later on taken over by Nūrpur, Suket, Basohlī and Chambā (Trimukh Temple). Likewise was Sanskrit literary activity revived by Brahmins summoned from other parts of India, as the numerous copperplate grants and stone inscriptions of this period prove (copperlate grants e.g. in Chambā since 1330, more common since 1557; in Kumāon since 1297, common since 1582). However, then the Hindu renaissance in the Western Himālaya started on an independent course, by a conscious study of the Mediaeval monuments on the spot and the training of local artists in their imitation. This revival of local Mediaeval temple style lasted from ca. 1550-1660, however followed by a second, minor revival between 1760 and 1825. It coincided, thus, more or less with the period of religious toleration under the Mughal emperors Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān and that of Muslim impotence after the collapse of the Mughal empire.

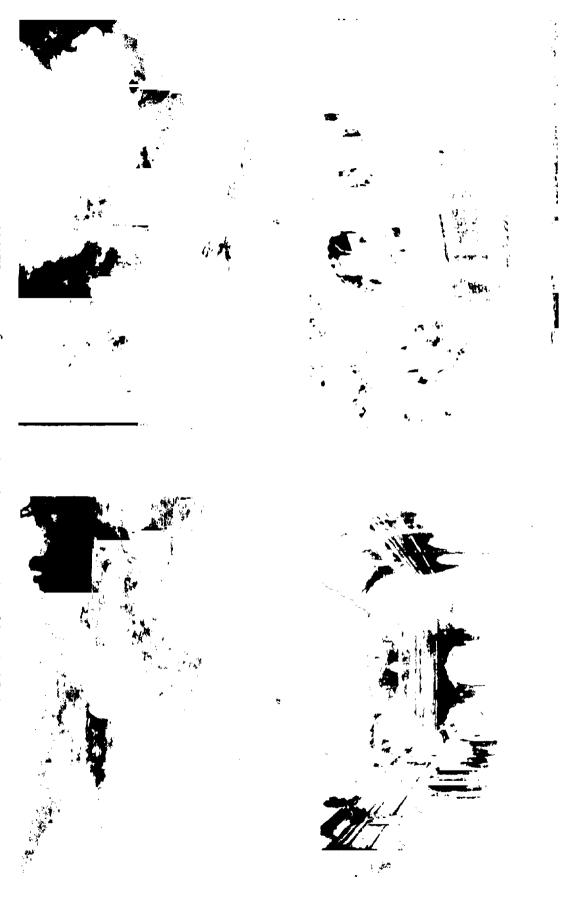
Already during this first Renaissance we can observe very archaic Muslim features, the origin of which we can at present not trace because the missing Indian links between them and their prototypes in Irān have not yet been discovered. In Chambā e.g. lion statues and reliefs are found in front of the Chāmundā, Vajreśvarī and Champāvatī temples and in the walls of the (modern) Hanuman temple (in the compound of the great Lakshmī-Nārāyan temple). Though intended as the vāhanas of the Great Goddess, they represent types which obviously are almost pure descendents of the Saljuq lion statues of Īrān and Fātimid and Ayyubid aquamaniles, and cousins of the figures in the Lion Court of the Alhambra in Spain. They belong to the reign of Prithvī Singh (1641-64), when in the Golden Age of Shāhjahān and of Aurangzēb's early years suchlike motifs had already been completely forgotten by the Indian Muslims. A still later case is the ornaments imitating star-shaped tiles in the temples of Umēd Singh (1748-64) at Devī-rī Kothī and Mehlā; suchlike tiles had been the fashion in Īrān in the 13th-14th centuries and were in India no more known even in Akbar's time. Also the Rādhā-Krishna Temple at Chambā (1825) shows creeper ornament motifs which in the plains were in fashion not later than the 15th century. This last temple had been built by architects who seem to have come from Gūlēr (to conclude from the resem-

blance to the Naun (fountain) of Javālī, and there are strong reasons to believe that Prithvī Singh had engaged artisans from Nūrpur and Basohlī.

Unfortunately these motifs have so far been either ignored by archaeologists or dismissed as folk art, so that a systematic survey of them is still needed. Most of Nūrpur architecture before the middle of the 17th century, however, has disappeared, and at Basohlī no vestiges of the old palaces are left. But it is worth mentioning that at least half of the architectural forms traceable at Tārāgarh, a hill fort erected 1625-30 by Jagat Singh of Nūrpur and taken 1642 by prince Murād Bakhsh, belong not to the Mughal, but to the Tughluq tradition. And in the Śiva temple of Mahādhera near Basohlī (late 16th century) ornaments can be seen unknown to Hindu and Mughal art, but common in Mediaeval Muslim and Romanesque European architecture.

Had all these motifs, echoes of the lost Yaminī and of Tughluq art, once been imported by refugees from the Ghorid and Tīmūrid invasions? Or were they imported much later, by the masons employed by Khawāss Khān and Hamīd Khān Kākar in erecting the strongholds with which Shēr Shāh Sūr tried to control the hills about 1540? For it seems probable that these merely utilitarian buildings were constructed not by the best architects of the capital, but by provincial masters who may well have preserved many outmoded traditions. But all the evidence is so far missing. The only parallel case I know is the „Ghaznī Throne" of the rājās of Pugal, vassals of Bīkāner, a genuine, though poor Yamīnī piece of furniture. But in the light of later similar developments which we shall have to discuss shortly, some suchlike assumption seems unavoidable.

After Akbar's conquest (1557, 1572-73, 1594-95) and even after the campaigns of Jahāngīr (1615-20) and Shāhjahān (1640-42) Mughal civilization penetrated the Panjāb Himālaya before the middle of the 18th century only in a very limited measure. The first thing to be imitated, though very imperfectly, was the fortification technique. And this already before the Mughals took Kāngṛā Fort in 1620 and before Alī Khān renovated its walls and gates. Ganeshgarh in Southern Chambā State, constructed 1558, shows the same wall and battlement type as Akbar's Hariparbat Fort at Srīnagar, though its groundplan resembles the later Chinjloh Fort at Basohlī. Also the early outworks at Nūrpur and Jagat Singh's walls at Tārāgarh are of the same type. But in contrast to the Mughal forts the gate defences are everywhere very poor, and arrangements for housing and stores quite insufficient. Already in Akbar's time Mughal textiles and costumes became known, and the Chambā treasury had until the great fire of 1937 preserved some beautiful pieces, presents of the emperor Jahāngīr to prince Janārdan and Bishambar 1622. It was first the rājās of Nūrpur who introduced more of Mughal culture into the Beās Valley. They had learned the lesson of successive crushed rebellions that, even in federation, they could not oppose the Mughal emperors. But they had also learnt the other lesson that as Mughal officers they might increase their power and expand their states so much that—perhaps—they might dream of another, more successful revolt. Bāsudev (1580-1613), Sūraj Mal (1613-1618), Jagat Singh (1619-46), Rājrūp (1646-61), Māndhātā (1661-1700), all, rose to high positions in the Mughal army and court, commanding armies and governing provinces. Thus

MUSLIM CULTURAL INFLUENCE IN THE PANJĀB HIMĀLAYA

a. THE ĀHANI, AMIRI AND JAHĀNGIRI GATES OF KĀṄGRĀ FORT, BUILT BY NAWĀB ALIF KHĀN, FIRST MUGHAL GOVERNOR
b. ENTRANCE TO RĀJNAGAR PALACE, ERECTED BY RĀJĀ UMED SINGH
c. THE GREAT BĀRĀDARI OF RĀJA SANSAR CHAND II OF KĀṄGRĀ AT TIRA-SUJANPUR
d. BALCONIES IN SANSAR CHAND II's PALACE AT TIRA-SUJANPUR

(Photo: H. Goetz)

MUSLIM CULTURAL INFLUENCE IN THE PANJAB HIMALAYA

a. RELIEF IN THE SANCTUARY OF THE KRISHNA TEMPLE OF RĀJA BASU IN NURPUR FORT
b. COLUMN OF THE CHIEF TEMPLE AT RĀJNAGAR, CHAMBA STATE
c. OPEN LIṄGA SHRINE AT BASOHLI
d. WALL DECORATION IN THE NARABDESHUR TEMPLE AT TIRA-SUJANPUR
e. LION RELIEF IN THE HANUMAN TEMPLE, CHAMBA

(Photo: H. Goetz)

they became well acquainted with life at the Mughal court and introduced into their states what seemed useful for their power and prestige. But then their oppression forced their neighbour rulers Bhūpatpal and Sangrāmpāl of Basohlī, Prithvī Singh of Chambā, Sūraj Sen of Mandī and Mān Singh of Gūlēr, likewise to seek the favour of the Mughal court, and to introduce the same reforms. And the same happened in Kumāon under Lakshmī Chand (1597-1621). But only part of the innovations were Mughal, such as a more centralized administration made possible by the use of paper (instead of a loose feudalism based on grants engraved on occasional copperplate grants), rifles and small guns, and beautifully inlaid or enamelled weapons brought home as imperial presents.

For all these were adopted not because they were used by the Mughals, but because they had already been adopted by the great Rājput states, Amber, Bīkāner, Jodhpur, Orchhā. And from those latter the whole of contemporary Rājput civilization was taken over between the end of the 16th and the middle of the 17th century. The ruined Krishna Temple of Bāsudev at Nūrpur is a complete counterpart of the Kachhwāha temples in the holy Braj country, especially of the Haridev at Govardhan (1557) and the Govinddev at Brindāban (1598) but for part of the sculptures which reveal a local note, connecting the tradition of the Mediaeval fountain stones of Churāh, Mahādhera and Manāli with classic Kāṅgṛā art and some even of Mughal type. Likewise was "Basohlī" painting first introduced from Rājputāna (Amber and Bīkāner?) and preserved its original character through most of the 17th century, until with the decline of Mughal supremacy (about 1700) the local taste gained the upper hand.

Since the end of Jahāngīr's reign this influence became even stronger. For the great princes of Rājputāna (Jai Singh I of Amber, Karan Singh of Bīkāner, Gaj Singh of Jodhpur, Bhāo Singh of Būndī) now began to introduce the classical Mughal style in their states, so that artisans accustomed both to the older Rājput and the Akbarī ("Fathpur-Sikrī") style of architecture and painting lost their jobs and had to find employment in the smaller states. Akbarī architecture seems to have caught a foothold in Basohlī early in the 17th century, to conclude from the miniatures, for no secular building of this time has been preserved. The Basohlī temples, on the other hand, reveal a quaint mixture of early "Renaissance" features, plain architraves and pyramidal roofs, with early and classic Mughal elements, Mughal columns and cusped arches, by the side of latticed windows and pentroofs supported by miniature Rājput brackets. The same mixture, though less outspoken, can be traced in rural shrines at Haripur, Nūrpur, Kāṅgṛā, ʿĀlampur, etc. The Mughal keel-arch turns up occasionally since the middle of the 17th century at Basohlī, Kāṅgṛā, Chambā; the octagonal Shāhjahān columns with star flower basis in Chambā, Mandī and ʿĀlampur early in the 18th century, at Rājnagar in the middle of the century.

First at Nūrpur we are confronted with the pure Mughal style, such as it developed under Shāhjahān and Aurangzēb in the provinces, in the fortifications and the "Thākurdwāra" of the fort, built by rājā Māndhātā (1661-1700). The latter is a Mughal Chārbāgh with a central fountain (now a chabūtrā) and four pavilions at the ends of the now destroyed water channels. Everything now is a wilderness of ruins and jungle, except the Thākurdwāra which had formed the Krishna temple of the ranis, as it is even to-day the

case in the Jaipur palace, and which alone has been preserved as a sanctuary. The paintings of the lower wall dados resemble similar "Mughal" work at Būndī, as, likewise, the reliefs around the central chabūtrā, whereas the rest of the frescoes in the Thākurdwāra is the work of the Kāṅgṛā school. Also the contemporary Asadevī Temple at Āsapurī, built by rājā Vijai-Rām-Chand (1660-87) of "Kāṅgṛā" (then actually Vijaipur) reveals strong Mughal borrowings, though very provincial and badly misunderstood.

Further to the East, in Mandī, Kulū, the Simla States and Kumaōn similar Mughal influence could so far not yet be traced, and Mughal elements must have reached those states only much later, in the course of the later 18th century. And the same seems to have been the case further towards the West, beyond Basohlī. Some of these Western states were converted to Islām, Rājaurī between the late 14th and late 15th century, Pūnch in the early 17th, Kashtwār about 1700 A.D.; and the Mughal emperors had constructed their sarāis and other buildings along the roads to Kashmīr in Rājaurī and Bhīmbar. But curiously enough a corresponding influence in the fields of art and material culture is absent, possibly because all these states then were too small and neglected as to afford suchlike luxuries.

But when Aurangzēb's last campaigns against the Marāthas and Tanjore taxed the forces of the Empire to the utmost, all Mughal garrisons except that of Kāṅgṛā Fort were withdrawn and imperial control reduced to a mere arbitration between the quarrelling rājās. Mughal cultural influence almost disappeared, but only to return stronger than ever, in another guise, some decades later. From Zakariyā Khān to Mīr Muʿīn, Mughlānī Bēgam and Adīna Bēg, Mughal control also over the Panjāb became more and more precarious. 1737-38 the Persian armies of Nādir Shāh swept over the province, and since 1747 the Afghān hordes of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī. Under Mughal, Marātha, Persian and Afghān oppression the desperate peasantry joined the revolutionary Sikh sect, until from general chaos there emerged first the twelve Sikh Misls and then the kingdom of Ranjīt Singh. The situation of the 11th-12th centuries had returned. The many small hill states slowly united into three feudal groups under Kāṅgṛā (Tira-Sujānpur), Chambā and Jammū. Trade, again diverted to the hills, brought prosperity, and refugees from the plains another cultural revival.

These refugees came in two waves. The first batch came as a result of Nādir Shāh's invasion and seems to have consisted of some architects and painters, possibly also some pundits and people with administrative experience. For it is well possible that the beginning expansion of the Kāṅgṛā rāj under Hamīr Chand (1700-1747) and Abhaya Chand (1747-50), and of Jammū under Ranjīt Dev (1738-1781), though inspired by the personal ambition of the rulers, was effected with the practical advice of refugees conversant with the unscrupulous Macchiavellism then dominant in the plains. As a matter of fact, the scheming expansionism of the Kāṅgṛā rājās in the 18th century resembled as much contemporary political method at Delhī, Lahore, or at other capitals, as it differed from the traditional Rājput code of honour of most of their neighbours. At ʿĀlampur and Teri also architects and painters, probably from smaller provincial places in the Panjāb, must have settled down. But the most important art centre was founded at the court of rājā Govardhan Chand (1730-60)

at Haripur, which is responsible for the older Haripur palaces, Thākurdwāra and Naun at Javālī and the early Gūlēr school of painting.

A much greater number of refugees, however, was driven into the Himālayan valleys by the successive invasions of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī and the guerilla war of the Sikhs against him. Cultural life in the Panjāb collapsed completely, and refugees must have left also in other directions. There are strong reasons to believe that, e.g. the great art revival, in the contemporary Mughal style, at Bīkāner under mahārāja Gaj Singh (1745-87) must at least partly have been the result of an immigration of artists from the Panjāb. In the Himālaya we witness at the same time a flare-up of many shortlived centres of Mughal art, of very varying quality, some very provincial, others of good, though not of the first quality. Such centres have been traced at Pūnch, Rāmnagar (Bhandrālta), Basohlī, Chambā, Gūlēr, Kāṅgṛā, Kulū and Suket.

Bahohlī, though it had lost its political leadership, was still the most flourishing state west of the Rāvi in the reign of rājā Amritpāl (1757-76). He built a great palace, in simple Mughal taste, but with ample use of Mughal flower decorations; however only the Zenāna and hammām are preserved, whereas else it is hidden under the opulent stucco renovations and extensions added in Sikh times by rājā Suchet Singh. Likewise is most of the palace of Abhaya Chand (1747-50) and Ghamand Chand (1751-74) of Kāṅgṛā at Tira now buried under the ambitious renovation of Sansār Chand II; only in the stable court and in the lower storeys of the old zenāna the original architecture can still be traced. In Chambā, on the other hand, this Mughal architecture was hardly obliterated by later additions, though much was destroyed in the invasion of Amṛitpāl of Basohlī 1774. Of the garden palace at Rājnagar there is left only the Entrance Gate, with Mughal battlements and floral wall paintings. Of Umed Singh's (1744-64) reconstruction of the city palace (Pakki Chaukī) only the Khanchandī court with heavy columns and a room with a large wall painting of the Mahābhārata battle, and wooden panels with Mughal figural reliefs (now in the Chāmundā Temple) survive. The substructures and the groundfloor of the Rang Mahal were also built by him though the palace was completed in the following century. His extension of the Brahmor Kothī follows the local wood style already used by Prithvī Singh, but the columns, carved doors and balconies are all in a somewhat heavy Mughal taste. Also Umēd Singh's Chāmunda temple at Devī-rī Kothī in Churāh adheres to the traditional hill shrine type, but its ornaments, reliefs and paintings are strongly influenced by provincial Mughal art. Finally in Gūlēr also a good part of Haripur Castle and of Kotla Fort follows the Mughal style, whereas the old palace of Jammū has disappeared.

Of the parallel schools of painting we know more and also less. Bilāspur (Kahlūr) and Kulū, though traced, are still shadowy to us. Rāmnagar (Bandrālta), rather primitive, and Pūnch, with overelongated figures, too small heads and much gilding, were both shortlived. Also the Basohlī style under Amṛitpāl is hardly studied; it shows the traditional, very characteristic picture composition of this centre but with all details and ornaments elaborated in the Mughal manner, with shadows and night scenes. The Chambā style under Umēd Singh Sing (1748-64) is rather crude and preserves certain archaic features, fleeting fronts and

too large eyes, also a certain flatness and rigidness; but some groups are very expressive. Only during the early reign (1764-82) of Rāj Singh the pure Mughal style same in fashion but was soon superseded by the Kāṅgṛā taste. The Mughal-Kāṅgṛā school (ca. 1748-1765) finally already reveals many of the qualities of the high Kāṅgṛā style, a certain elegance and romantic atmosphere, but the groundwork is strictly Mughal and the colour scheme rather subdued.

Probally also rumāl (cotton and silk covers embroidered with figural scenes) work, later on connected only with Chambā, was at that time introduced from the Panjāb. Its technique is probably not of Indian, but of Irāno-Turkish origin. The oldest known examples are from Basohlī under Amṛitpāl, in a mixed style combining the old local picture tradition with Mughal and Persian innovations. Similar early Kāṅgṛā rumāls must have existed, but have not yet been explored.

All these Mughal-Pahārī schools of art were very shortlived (ca. 1748-1760/70). When chaos ruled in the Panjāb, the prestige and influence of Mughal art were broken and, instead, the ideals of the hill Rājputs began to dictate the style of art. As in contemporary Rājputāna, the Mughal technique was retained, but expression and subjects slowly changed. Dynamic lines, bright colours and flat composition, the scenery of the Sivaliks and the romantic idealism of the Pahārī Rājputs superseded, step by step, the static lines, subdued colours, slight depth, and weary sentimentalism of later Mughal art. But before this process was completed, most of the local schools faded away before the glory that came from the court of the new overlord of the hills, Sansār Chand II of Kāṅgṛā (1775-1823).

Kāṅgṛā art was not a purist reaction against the imported Mughal style, it rather represented a healthy and strong evolution of that later. Its return to Rājput aesthetic ideals simply was the outcome of a strong natural urge of self-expression. For the hill Rājputs who cultivated this novel Mughal technique were children and grand-children of those who had still painted and collected pictures in the "Basohlī" style.

The splendid political successes and cultural achievements of Sansār Chand II were, in fact, the result of ideas, ideals and techniques imported from outside. His treacherous diplomacy, his exactions, his Rohilla Afghān mercenary army, his plan to organize battalions drilled in the European manner, his plalaces, temples, the costumes and style of life at his courth, and finally his painting studies, were imports from outside, from Oudh. The new court dresses were those of Faizābād and Lucknow under Shujā and Asaf-ud-daula. His palaces at Tira and Nadāun are purest Lucknow architecture. The Bārādārī at Tira is a smaller imitation of the great Imāmbara of Asaf-ud-daula; the garden houses at Nadāun resemble the Badshāh Bāgh. The Sītārām Temple at Tira and the Narabdeshar at Sujānpur are nothing but richly decorated bārādārīs, the latter, a Panchayatana, is surrounded by four octagonal chapels covered with low lotus doors. Only the Rādhākrishna Temple is a copy of the famous Baijnāth shrine, but also its exterior gateway is copied on Lucknow. Likewise imitate the very rich wall paintings the opulent "late Mughal" wall decorations we know not only from Lucknow, but also from Jaipur (Mādho Vilās) and Galta, Jodhpur (Phūl Mahal), Bīkāner (Anūp Mahal), etc. The

walls of both the Sītā-Rām and the Narabdesher Temple are covered with "miniature" paintings arranged in cartouches between the other wall ornaments. Hardly any of these paintings is in the Mughal taste, just because the transition from that latter to an indigenous Kāṅgṛā style had already been achieved in the preceding reign of Ghamand Chand (1758-1774). Yet even then the influence of the Oudh school can be traced in many minor details.

Like Basohlī had gone down in the wars with the Chambyāls and Sikhs between 1782 and 1806, the power of Sansār Chand collapsed in the Gurkha War (1804-1809). After that war the broken old man lived as a tolerated vassal of Ranjīt Singh of Lahore until 1823, and a few years after his death the Sikhs annexed the Kāṅgṛā Rāj in 1827. This war inaugurated another migration of artists; part of them went to the inner hill states, another part to the Sikh court. Though the Kāṅgṛā style of life and art since ca. 1780 came in fashion in all the hill states, it was first as a result of the Gurkha War that considerable local schools of Kāṅgṛā art developed also in Chambā, Mandī and Garhwāl, i.e. the only states surviving Sikh rule. Only then also the Pahārī rumāls became connected solely with Chambā. However, the expensive brick and stucco architecture of Tira-Sujānpur the hill rājās could not imitate, but for some few, poor attempts, such as the bays of the Rang Mahal of Chambā. But this Kāṅgṛā transformation of Oudh architecture was taken over by the Sikhs and evolved into that wonderful, though occasionally gaudy Indian "Rococo" art which we find everywhere in the Sikh palaces, temples and gurudwāras of the Panjāb. Likewise forms Sikh painting the last phase of the Kāṅgṛā school, retaining all its technical conventions, but twisting its aristocratic idealism, romantic and mystic, into a democratic realism, puritan and not seldom vulgar.

Thus, the transition from Mediaeval to modern India, the assimilation of the new cultural good introduced by the Muslims, so far as it was assimilable at all by Hindus, was in the Panjāb Himālaya not completed before the time of Ranjīt Singh. The earlier Muslim invasions into India had strengthened either Mediaeval Hindu civilization, or at least the Hindu population in the Himālaya. Also in the following centuries it was not Muslim, but Hindu civilization of the plains which transformed the life of the hills. And only when most aspects of contemporary Hindu life amongst Rājputs, Marāthas and Sikhs, had been permeated with Muslim culture, it was taken over by the Pahārī Rājputs. By the side of this indirect assimilation, however, went a minor trend of direct borrowings restricted to instruments of political power, weapons, fortifications, administrative methods, court ceremonial. Only in the last phase, when in the 18th century Indian civilization had become rather uniform, it became the leading current connecting Lahore with the hills, and Faizābād-Lucknow with Tira-Sujānpur.

There is some rhythm, but no rigid regularity in this process of assimilation. There can be traced two Golden Ages in the 11th-12th and the 18th century, when political chaos in the Panjāb protected and favoured the hill rājās. There were two minor periods of prosperity when peace under a slight foreign control permitted at least some states to dominate the rest as governors or acknowledged vassals, the 17th and probably also the 14th-15th centuries. There alternated two ways of cultural assimilation, passive acceptance of innovations

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brought by refugees and active, conscious import in imitation of mightier states. Refugees probably came in the early 11th century from the Sāhī kingdom, about 1200 from the collapsed Mediaeval Rājput states, in the 14th from the Tughluq persecutions and Tamerlane's invasion(?), in the middle 18th from the Persian and Afghān devastation of the Panjāb. Conscious imports were encouraged in the 11th-12th centuries from Kashmīr and Ganges plains, in the 15th and early 16th centuries from Rājputāna, Gujarāt and the North Indian places of pilgrimmage (purely Hindu), in the late 16th and early 17th centuries from Rājputāna (Muslim-Hindu mixed), in the middle and late 17th, middle late 18th centuries (Mughal); the first, foreign, of very limited influence, the second, half assimilated, affecting at least half of the more important states, the last one, completely assimilated and all dominant.

THE DRUM NAMED MAKALAMAU

by

ROBERT HEINE-GELDERN
New York

In 1937, the Museum of the Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap received several bronze drums which had been discovered on the small island of Sangeang off the coast of Sumbawa, Lesser Sunda Islands. Three of them had stood near some ancient graves. The natives had used them for rain-making and had given them individual names. The one named Makalamau, now No. 3364 of the Museum's prehistoric collections, stands out by its unusual and puzzling decor.

So far, only two small sections of the drum have been illustrated (Plate a and f), but these illustrations are supplemented by Dr. van der Hoop's fairly detailed description [1]). For the sake of comparison I shall refer to four of the most ancient bronze drums known, all four of them found in Tonkin: the so-called "drum Mouilé", the drum in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna, and the drums from Ngoc-lu and Hoang-ha in the Museum of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient in Hanoi [2]).

Like the four Tonkinese drums, that from Sangeang belongs to Heger's Type I. As far as the star in the center of the head, the purely ornamental designs (tangent circles, meanders, etc.), and the figures of flying birds are concerned, the drum Makalamau conforms more or less to those from Tonkin. As in the latter, one of the zones on the head shows men wearing ceremonial feather head-dresses, people pounding rice in mortars, and four buildings of two different types, only one of which, a house with a group of people in it, has been illustrated in van der Hoop's Catalogus (Plate a, d, e).

Like the houses on the Tonkinese drums, that on the drum from Sangeang stands on piles and has a saddle-shaped roof, lower in the middle than at the projecting ends. In other respects there are important differences. On the Tonkinese drums the projecting ends

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1) A. VAN DER HOOP, *Catalogus der Praehistorische Verzameling, Kon. Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (1941) pp. 215-217 and figs. 62, 63.

2) F. HEGER, *Alte Metalltrommeln aus Südost-Asien* (Leipzig 1902) pls. I to V. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. XXIX (1929), pls. I, II, XXVII, XXX, Vol. XL (1940), pls. XXXV, XXXVI and figs. on pp. 398-409.

of the ridge-pole are supported by pillars. These are absent on the drum from Sangeang. On the former, the edge of the powerful roof, reaching down to the level of the elevated floor, is clearly shown with its fringes of thatch. Its outline is sharply set off from the vertical posts supporting the floor [3]. On the Sangeang drum, the roof is indicated only by its saddle-like ridge and the ornaments (or thatch?) hanging down from its projecting ends. The lines of the walls at the right and left continue those of the supporting pillars and then gradually slope outward.

The notched tree used as stairs at the left end of the house indicates that this is the front. Here, a long-tailed animal is shown crawling upward, toward the roof. To judge by its long snout, it must be a lizard or crocodile. Another animal, in this case of non-determinable species, with its head downward, is seen on the rear-end of the house, toward the floor. These figures certainly do not represent live animals, but carved animal figures. They correspond to those figures of tigers, leopards, lizards, etc. which are still to be seen, in exactly the same positions, an the main pillars or front walls of men's houses among the Garo and several Naga tribes in Assam and among the Lawa in northwestern Siam (Plate g) [4]. Obviously, the house on the drum represents a men's house or one of its derivatives, i.e. a house used for assemblies, for the reception of guests, etc.

While the floor of the house and the ridge of the roof are shown by simple lines, the front and rear walls are represented by double lines with numerous small cross-lines filling the space between them. The artist must have wished to indicate that they were more solid than the rest. To judge from the men's houses of the tribes mentioned above, these double lines with the animal figures attached to them represent either heavy boards set in front of the walls or, more likely, the main pillars supporting the projecting ends of the roof. The artist seems to have confounded the walls of the house and the pillars just in front of them, giving the latter a slight curve outward. One gets the impression that he was none too familiar with the type of house he wanted to represent.

Under the roof an attic divided into six compartments contains five objects which van der Hoop, probably correctly, supposes to be storage baskets, while the object in the last compartment to the right may represent a bronze drum. Under the floor of the house. between the pilars, we recognise a pig, two chickens, and a dog.

The persons in the house differ radically in costume, posture, and style from those in the houses on the Tonkinese drums. From the left to the right, we see, first, a person kotowing before a man sitting on his thighs in kneeling position with his body slightly bent

3) Concerning the survival of this type of house among various tribes of Southeast Asia, cf. R. HEINE-GELDERN, *Bedeutung und Herkunft der ältesten hinterindischen Metalltrommeln*, Asia Major, Vol. VIII (1932) p. 526.

4) A. PLAYFAIR, *The Garos* (London, 1909), p. 37 and pl. facing p. 131. S. N. MAZUMDER, *Ao Nagas* (Calcutta, 1925) p. 40, figs. 9, 16, 17. J P. MILLS, *The Ao Nagas* (London, 1926) p. 74 and pls. facing pp. 72, 74, 96. J. H HUTTON, *Diaries of two Tours in the unadministered area East of the Naga Hills*, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XI, No. 1 (1929) pls. 2, 4, 6. Alfred STEINMANN und Sanidh RANGSIT, *Denkmalformen und Opferstätten der Lawa*, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. LXXI (1939) p. 168 and fig. 4.

forward. The next person kneels before an object so indistinct that its nature cannot be determined. Then follow two persons sitting on their thighs with bent knees and another one standing with the face turned toward the rear wall. All six persons seem to wear long coats covering the whole body and reaching down almost to the feet. Their sleeves are long, loose, and wide as can be clearly seen in the case of the second figure from the left which, moreover, seems to be bearded.

Van der Hoop observes that these persons "make the impression of being Chinese or Tartars". I think that we can be more explicit and say that they are definitely Chinese. Their costumes are essentially the same as those on Chinese tiles of the 3rd cent. B.C. and on Han reliefs of the 2nd cent. A.D. On the other hand, the human figures on the Tonkinese drums are either shown without clothes, which may mean that they were naked or, more likely, were clad only with narrow loin-cloths; or they wear ceremonial feather head-dresses and broad loin-cloths with the ends hanging down in front and aft. (Plate d, e). All this apparel corresponds to costumes still in use among various tribes of Southeast Asia.

However, it is not only by their costumes that the figures in the house on the Sangeang drum betray Chinese influence. The way they kneel and sit and move is totally different from that of the figures on the Tonkinese drums and resembles closely that of figures on Han reliefs. No person kneeling, like the third from the left, is to be found on any of the other drums. On the other hand, this posture is frequently seen on Han reliefs. Even more characteristically Chinese is the way three of the persons sit on their thighs in kneeling position [5]). The group on the left is absolutely decisive: a man sitting on his thighs with the body slightly bent forward and another one kotowing before him. The custom of kotowing is, of course, totally foreign to such cultures of relatively primitive type as, let us say, those of the Naga of Assam or the Dayak of Borneo; and it is a culture of that type which is represented on the Tonkinese drums. On the other hand, similar groups frequently appear on Han reliefs, identical even to the slightly inclined forward position of the personage sitting on his thighs (Plate b, c) [6]).

The Chinese character of the people in the house offers a clue for the interpretation of the object which surmounts the roof. This object rises vertically from the middle of the ridge and supports two long, narrow strips, approximately horizontal, slightly bent, and tapering off toward the ends which almost touch the roof. There can be little doubt that this represents a parasol. Numerous parasols of similar form, although, of course, more expertly drawn, will be found in Chavannes' illustrations of Han reliefs.

According to van der Hoop's description, the designs on the upper, bulging part of the drum's body comprise six boats with crews of men wearing feather head-dresses, in this respect conforming to the four Tonkinese and various other drums. Between the boats

5) H. MASPERO, *La vie privée en Chine à l'époque des Han*, Revue des Arts Asiatiques, Vol. VII (1931-32) p. 194. Numerous examples in the plates of F. CHAVANNES, *Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale* (Paris, 1909-13).

6) CHAVANNES, *l.c.*, Figs. 67, 129, 143, 150, 152, 1219, 1232, 1258.

are placed figures of two deer, a crane or stork, an elephant, a saddled horse, a man fighting a tiger, and a man in long dress, wearing a hat, thus obviously again a Chinese.

The central portion of the body is divided into eight panels filled with figures of men wearing feather head-dresses or, as we shall see, rather with ornamente derived from such figures. The lowest part of the body originally had twenty panels, one of which has been destroyed. Of the remaining nineteen, eleven contain the single figure of an elephant, three that of an elephant with a man standing in front, one an elephant with a man on its back and another man standing, one an elephant with a man climbing on its head, one a horse eating out of a manger, one a saddled horse with a man standing before it and holding the bridle, and one a warrior on horseback and another one standing in front of him. The latter panel is the only one that has been illustrated (Plate f).

Horses and tamed elephants used for riding were, of course, foreign to the old indigenous cultures of Southeast Asia as represented on the Tonkinese drums. The same may be said with regard to the clothes and weapons of the men. However, the latter differ no less radically from the figures in the house (Plate a). There could hardly be a stronger contrast than that between the courteous suppleness of these figures and the erect and rigid attitude of the warrior on foot. He wears a long coat, reaching approximately to the knees, tight around the hips and expanding bell-like below. His shoulders are broad and powerful, the sleeves of his coat tight, not wide and loose like those of the men in the house. On his legs he seems to wear high boots or leggings or, possibly, trousers and on his head a helmet with two small vertical projections, the ends of which are turned backwards. In his left hand he holds a lance with a pennant, while his right rests on a weapon which may be either a long sword or a mace. The thick dark line paralleling his coat on the left may be merely an accidental irregularity in the surface of the bronze On the other hand, it might possibly represent a sword hanging down from his belt. In that case the weapon he holds with his right hardly could be anything else than a mace.

The man on horseback, apparently bearded, seems to wear the same long coat and the same type of boots as the one on foot However, his headgear, more or less cylindrical, lacks the hornlike projections. A long sword is fastened to his belt in horizontal position. With his left hand he holds the bridle, with his right an object which might be a horsewhip.

The horse is by far too large in proportion to the figure of the man standing in front of it. Its legs are fairly well drawn, but its neck is too thin, and its head highly schematic. Its tail resembles that of the archaeopterix rather than that of a horse. One gets the impression that the figure was drawn by a person who actually had seen horses, but who was rather unfamiliar with their appearance and anatomy.

Attire and weapons of the two warriors resemble strikingly those of the Kuṣānas as seen in the statue of king Kaniṣka and on the coins of the Kuṣāna kings (Plate h, i) [7]. In

7) J Ph. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā* (Paris, 1930) pl. I. P. GARDNER, *The coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India* (London, 1886) pls. XXV. XXVI, XXIX V. A. SMITH, *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. I (Oxford, 1906) pls. XI-XIV. R. B. WHITEHEAD, *Catalogue of coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. I (Oxford, 1914) pls. XVII-XX.

his statue, Kaniṣka rests his right hand on his long mace just as does the warrior on the drum on his weapon, be it mace or sword. On several of their coins, Kaniṣka and other Kuṣāna kings hold a lance in their left hand as does the warrior on the drum. It is only the latter's helmet which has no counterpart in any known headgear of the Kuṣānas. To judge from the coins and from a few stone heads found near Mathurā they wore either the pointed "Scythian" cap or a kind of mitre [8]). The cap of the horseman on the drum might well represent a headgear of that kind.

When Paul Pelliot visited New York a few months before his death, I showed him the illustrations in van der Hoop's catalogue and asked for his opinion. He too was immediately struck by the similarity of the two warriors with the Kuṣāna type and on this basis offered a highly interesting suggestion. From a Chinese report preserved in the history of the Leang we know that king Fan Chan of Fu-nan sent one of his relatives, Su-wu, as ambassador to the king of the Muruṇḍa empire in the Gangetic plain between 240 and 245 A.D. When Su-wu returned, the Muruṇḍa king sent with him one Ch'en-song and a second man with four Yüeh-chih horses which they were to offer as a gift to the king of Fu-nan. They arrived in Fu-nan between 245 and 250 A.D. [9]). Pelliot thought that Kuṣāna men might well have accompanied the horses of Kuṣāna breed and that the figures on the drum may represent these men and horses. The drum, in this case, would have been cast in Fu-nan around the middle of the 3rd cent. A.D.

There can be little doubt that the drum Makalamau was not cast in eastern Indonesia, where it was found, but that it had been imported from somewhere else, most likely from the eastern parts of Indo-China. However, its close relation to the Tonkinese drums, as well as the presence, among its designs, of figures representing Chinese and closely resembling those on Han reliefs, suggest that it originated, not in Fu-nan, but in Tonkin, which in the Han period was a province of China. Neither should we forget that no drum of this type has ever been found in Cambodia and Cochinchina, that is in those countries which formed the area of ancient Fu-nan. This may, of course, be merely accidental. It is well known how dangerous and misleading such arguments *ex silentio* may be.

In itself, the presence of figures of men dressed in the fashion of Kuṣānas on an ancient bronze drum from Southeast Asia does not necessarily mean that these figures represent men who had come by sea from India. We know that the Yüeh-chih lived on the western borders of China a late as the first decennia of the 2nd cent. B.C. Otto Mänchen-Helfen has shown good reasons for assuming that nomads, or at least some of the nomads, whom the Chinese fought in the 4th cent. B.C. and whose equipment they eventually adopted, were Indo-Europeans, possibly Yüeh-chih [10]). We know that nomadic tribes from the West penetrated

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8) VOGEL, *l.c.*, pl. IV.

9) P. PELLIOT, *Le Fou-nan*, Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. III (1903) pp. 271, 292, 303.

10) O. MÄNCHEN-HELFEN, *Are Chinese* hsi-p'i *and* kuo-lo *IE loan words?* Language, Vol. XXI (1945) pp. 256-260.

central China and settled down there as early as the 7th cent. B.C. [11]). It is not inconceivable that others may have penetrated farther south, into southernmost China and Tonkin, either at the same or at a later period. A bronze belt-buckle excavated at Dongson in North Annam indicates that horse-riding people may indeed have reached Indo-China at an early date [12]). Belt-buckles were, of course, totally foreign to the native cultures of Southeast Asia.

Whatever horse-riding people may have come as far as Indo-China, we do not know whether or not they wore long coats. The western barbarians, or Chinese who had adopted barbarian equipment, represented on the tiles from Loyang (3rd cent. B.C.) wear short jackets [13]). Of course, that does not preclude the possibility that other tribes, farther south, may have been differently clad.

However, the Loyang tiles furnish us with another point of comparison with the drum from Sangeang. Some of the horsemen on the tiles wear helmets with two short tubes on the top in which plumes are inserted, a fashion characteristic of the nomad tribes on the border of China and adopted by the Chinese themselves toward the end of the 4th cent. B.C. [14]). At a later date, the Chinese introduced this kind of helmet even in Indonesia. One of the large stone figures on the plateau of Pasemah in South Sumatra wears a helmet with two short tubes on the top which, as Westenenk observed, must have served for the insertion of plumes [15]). As I have shown elsewhere, the style of the stone statues of Pasemah is closely related to that of early Han sculptures and indicate the presence of Chinese settlements in Sumatra at that time [16]). The discovery of Han pottery in Sumatra, especially that of a vessel inscribed with a date corresponding to 45 B.C., supports the results of my stylistic analysis [17]). Now, the helmet of the warrior on the drum from Sangeang seems to be of the same type as that of the Pasemah statue and as the helmets represented on the tiles from Loyang. The two vertical projections might represent the tubes and their ends which turn backwards the plumes (Plate f). This is indeed the strongest argument for the assumption that the warriors on the drum may represent, not Kuṣānas who had come by sea from India, but either Yüeh-chih or members of some other horse-riding tribe who had reached Indo-China by land from China.

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11) A. KOCH, *Die Frage der Huai-Tal-Funde*, Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, Bulletin 6 (1934) pp. 151 152.

12) V. GOLOUBEW, *L'âge du bronze au Tonkin et dans le Nord-Annam*, Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. XXIX (1929) p. 24, pl. XIV.

13) W. C. WHITE, *Tomb tile pictures of ancient China* (Toronta, 1939) pls. I-III, XLIX, LXXII.

14) P. PELLIOT, *L'édition collective des oeuvres de Wang Kouo-Wei*, T'oung Pao, Vol. XXVI (1928-29) p. 140. WHITE, *l.c.*, pls. XLII-XLIV, LXXII.

15) L. C. WESTENENK, *De Hindoe-oudheden in de Pasemah hoogvlakte*, Oudheidkundig Verslag 1922, p. 35, and fig. 1. A. VAN DER HOOP, *Megalithic remains in South Sumatra* (Zutphen, 1932) pp. 16-17, figs. 20-22.

16) R HEINE-GELDERN, *Vorgeschichtliche Grundlagen der kolonialindischen Kunst*, Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Asiens, Vol. VIII (1934) pp. 12-13, 31.

17) E. DE FLINES, *De keramische verzameling, Kon. Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, Jaarboek, Vol. III (1936) pp. 209, 217, Vol. IV (1937) pp. 177-178, pls. 5, 6, Vol. V (1938) pp. 160-161, pl. 1.

However, the argument is not decisive. After all, we know by far too little about the equipment of the Indian Kuṣānas to be able to assert with any degree of certainty that they did not possess plumed helmets. If the Chinese had adopted that kind of helmet from the Yüeh-chih, which is not at all improbable, it is conceivable that the latter may still have used such helmets after they had migrated to India. They might have used both plumed helmets and peaked "Scythian" caps, just as both forms are worn by the horsemen on the tiles from Loyang.

The whole question is, of course, intimately connected with that of the date of the drum Makalamau.

Limitations of space forbid me to expand here on the problem of the date of the four Tonkinese drums. It has been discussed in a number of papers by V. Goloubew, O. Janse, P. V. van Stein Callenfels, and myself. The latest writer on the subject, B. Karlgren, came to the conclusion that they must be assigned to the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. [18]). Although this probably restricts the drums within too narrow limits it seems, on the whole, a fairly reasonable date, and we may provisionally accept it for our purposes.

Van Stein Callenfels distinguished three main stages of bronze drum decoration. The most ancient of these comprises the four Tonkinese drums with naturalistic figures of men and animals and a drum from Laos which has not been discussed in the present paper; the second, those drums in which the figure of men wearing feather head-dresses have degenerated into mere feathery ornaments; the third, those with purely geometric designs [19]).

If we accept van Stein Callenfels' distinction of three stages of ornamentation and Karlgren's date for the four large Tonkinese drums, are we then to date the drum from Sangeang in the 4th to 3rd cent. B.C. because of its naturalistic figures of men and animals?

Unfortunately, the illustrations so far available show only small portions of two of those figures of men with feather head-dresses which, according to van der Hoop's description, fill the spaces between the houses on the head of the drum. Thy are to be seem in Pl. a on the extreme right and left. The enormously expanded feather head-dress on the left shows clearly that the human figure, if at all recognisable as such, can occupy only a very small space and must be of diminutive size as compared to the adjoining figure of a person pounding rice in a mortar and to the figures in the house. This indicates that the degeneration of the figures with feather head-dresses into mere feathery ornaments had already gone very far. We now understand, why van der Hoop calls these figures "stylized", a term which hardly would be appropriate if applied to the corresponding naturalistic figures on the Tonkinese drums. The degeneration of the original design seems to have gone even farther on the central portion of the drum's body, for van der Hoop says that its eight panels are "completely filled with an ornamental pattern composed of stylized figures of standing men

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18) B. KARLGREN, *The date of the early Dong-so'n culture*. Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, Bulletin 14 (1942) p. 28.

19) P. V. VAN STEIN CALLENFELS, *The age of bronze kettledrums*, Bulletin of the Raffles Museum, Singapore, Series B, Vol. I (1936-37) pp. 151-153.

costumed as birds" [20]. The illustration of part of another drum from Sangeang, that which the natives had named Saritasangi, shows clearly what van der Hoop means. Here the figures of the men have completely disappeared and nothing remains but an ornamental pattern formed by what once had been their feather head-dresses. Yet, van der Hoop, conscious of its origins, still calls this design "strongly stylized figures of men costumed as birds" [21]. All this shows that the drum Makalamau, in spite of the naturalistic elements in its decoration, belongs to van Stein Callenfels' second stage of ornamental development and thus must be of a date considerably later than that of the Tonkinese drums.

The group of figures in the house (Plate a) provides an even more definite clue for dating the drum. Its close stylistic relation to Han reliefs of the 2nd cent. A.D. has already been pointed out. In order to be able to produce this design, the artist must have been thoroughly familiar with Chinese art of that period or must have copied a Chinese drawing or painting. It is not inconceivable that the wooden stamp used to impress this particular design in the soft clay or wax model of the drum, may actually have been carved by a Chinese. This would account for the incongruity in the reproduction of the native style of house mentioned above. On the other hand, any possibility of Chinese origin can be excluded in the case of the panel with the horseman and warrior in Kuṣāna dress. The way the horse is drawn, for instance, differs radically from that in which horses are represented on Han reliefs.

Tonkin and northern Annam came under Han supremacy in 111 B.C. Since the beginning of our era the impact of Chinese domination and culture became ever more formidable, and after the suppression of the great rebellion of 40 A.D. both countries were constituted as regular Chinese provinces. However, the indigenous style of art, the Dongson style, represented in its pure form by the four large Tonkinese drums, did not immediately disappear. This is proved by the existence of various objects of mixed Dongson-Chinese style [22]. Therefore, the presence of Chinese as well as Dongson elements on the drum Makalamau is not at all surprising. Indeed, were it not for the warriors in Kuṣāna dress, I would not hesitate to assume that it was cast in Tonkin or North Annam during the later Han period, most probably in the 2nd cent. A.D., while not excluding the possibility of a date even in the 3rd century.

The history of the Leang dynasty mentions embassies from India which reached China by sea between 147 and 167 A.D. [23]. Is there any evidence that they came from the Kuṣāna

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20) It is, of course, incorrect to call the figures on the drums "men costumed as birds", or "masked as birds", or "bird-men", as VAN DER HOOP, KARLGREN, and GOLOUBEW have done. They are nothing of the kind, but simply men wearing ceremonial feather head-dresses, such as are still in use among the Angami and neighbouring Naga tribes in Assam and, to a lesser extent, among the Dayak and various other peoples of Southeast Asia.

21) VAN DER HOOP, *Catalogus*, p. 220 and fig. 64.

22) Revue des Arts Asiatiques, Vol. VII (1931-32) pl. XXXV, fig. 10. O. JANSE, *Rapport préliminaire d'une mission archéologique en Indochine*, ibid., Vol. IX (1935) pp. 149-150, 153, pls. LIV, LV. *Breaking new archaeological ground in Indo-China*, Illustrated London News, Vol. 187 (1935) pp. 50, 52.

23) PELLIOT, *Le Fou-nan*, p. 271.

empire and that they may have disembarked in Tonkin? Or is it possible that Yüeh-chih or men of some kindred tribe inhabiting the western borderlands of China may have come to Tonkin by land as mercenaries in the Chinese army? These are questions for the sinologists to answer.

But let us return to Pelliot's interpretation and see whether any arguments might be found in its favor.

Sylvain Lévi and Jayaswal have shown that close connections existed between the Muruṇḍas and Kuṣānas. The Muruṇḍas were a dynasty of non-Indian origin. They used the same royal titles as the Kuṣāna kings. The Purāṇas class them with the Tukhāras, i.e. Kuṣānas. Jayaswal even thought that Muruṇḍa was nothing but a Kuṣāna title [24]. It would seem more likely that the Muruṇḍas were an eastern branch of the Kuṣānas which had become independent from the western Kuṣāna empire. However, there can be little doubt that ethnically Muruṇḍas and Kuṣānas were essentially the same. Therefore it is probable that the Muruṇḍa king's envoys, Ch'en-song and his companion, who were dispatched to Fu-nan to bring the king of that country four Kuṣāna horses, actually were Kuṣānas.

Goloubew has shown with good reasons that the festive scenes on the Tonkinese drums (Plate d, e) probably represent the feast of the dead which still plays such an important role in the life of many Southeast Asiatic tribes [25]. However, the presence of Chinese and other foreigners as well as the degeneration of the figures wearing ceremonial feather head-dresses to mere ornamental designs seems to preclude any possibility of a similar interpretation in the case of the drum Makalamau.

Ever since the beginning of our era the coastal regions and plains of eastern Indo-China had come under the influence of higher civilizations, Indian in the South, in Fu-nan and Champā, Chinese in the North, in Tonkin and North Annam. This must have wrought deep changes in the cultures and religions of the native peoples. In the case of Tonkin, we learn from Chinese sources that native customs were discouraged and Chinese ways forcefully introduced, first by governor Si Kuang, between 1 and 25 A.D. and later, after the suppression of the great rebellion, by Ma Yüan [26]. Similar policies adopted by the Hindu rulers of Fu-nan are to a certain extent reflected in Chinese reports on that country. The feast of the dead must have been discontinued or at least have taken on new forms. The ceremonial feather head-dresses went out of fashion, if for no other reason, because head-hunting was no doubt suppressed, the right to wear such ornaments usually being the prerogative of succesful head-hunters among the tribes of Southeast Asia [27]. Thus, the figures of feather-

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24) Sylvain LÉVI, *Deux peuples méconnus*. Mélanges Charles de Harlez (Leyde, 1896) pp. 176-184. K. P. JAYASWAL, *Problems of Saka-Sātavāhana history*, Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XVI (1930) pp. 287-289, 303-305, 308-312. Sylvain LÉVI, *Kaniṣka et Sātavāhana*, Journal Asiatique, Vol. CCXXVII (1936) p. 82.

25) GOLOUBEW, *l.c.*, pp. 36-38. HEINE-GELDERN, *Bedeutung und Herkunft etc.*, pp. 529-532.

26) H. MASPERO, *Etudes d'histoire d'Annam*, Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. XVIII (1918) No. 3, pp. 12, 18-19, 27-28.

27) It is significant that several of the warriors with feather head-dresses on the drum Mouilé and on the

adorned warriors and dancers, who had disappeared from real life, were no longer understood and soon degenerated into mere ornamental patterns, while familiar subjects found on the ancient drums, such as houses, boats, people pounding rice, domestic animals and birds, were still traditionally reproduced for some time. On the other hand, new naturalistic motifs were now added. This explains the curious juxtaposition of naturalistic figures with others which had become completely unrecognisable as a result of stylization and ornamental disintegration as is the case not only on the drum from Sangeang, but also on the one from the island of Saleyer with its feathery designs derived from what once had been feather-wearing men and its naturalistic elephants and birds [28]). Were these naturalistic additions made merely for decorative purposes? Or is it not more likely that they were connected with some new significance given to the drums after their old meaning had largely been forgotten?

When the envoys of the Muruṇḍa king, probably Kuṣānas, arrived in Fu-nan between 245 and 250 A.D., they met there two Chinese ambassadors, K'ang T'ai and Chu Ying [29]). The presence in the country at the same time of ambassadors from the Chinese emperor and from an Indian king must have been considered an event of outstanding importance. Is it not possible that bronze drums, showing both the Kuṣāna envoys with their horses and the Chinese ambassadors, were cast in commemoration of this event and that one of these drums, later exported to Indonesia, was accidentally preserved? Is it a mere coincidence that the Muruṇḍa king, according to K'ang T'ai's report, sent the king of Fu-nan four Yüeh-chih horses and that precisely four horses are represented on the drum, one in the upper portion of its body and three in the lower panels [30])?

On the other hand, we must not forget the fact that purely commercial relations between the Kuṣānas and Southeast Asia were well established at least as early as the first half of the 3rd cent. A.D. According to a Chinese source which drew its information from the report of K'ang T'ai, Yüeh-chih traders used to bring horses by sea from India to Kia-ying and to sell them to the king of that country which, Pelliot thought, was situated somewhere in the

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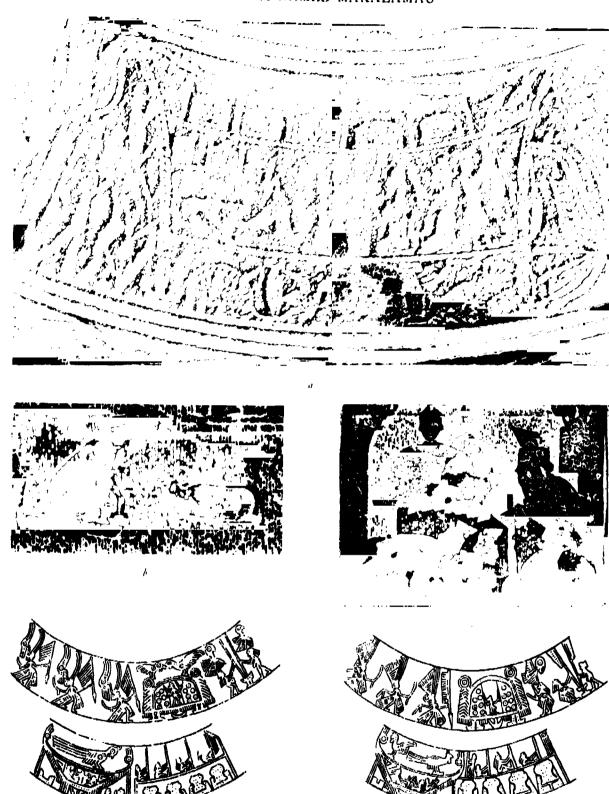
drum in the Vienna Museum carry in their left hand a shield and in their right an object which could hardly be anything other than a human head. See HEGER, *l.c.*, pl. V, figs. 1-3.

28) J. SCHMELTZ, *Einige vergleichende Bemerkungen über die Kesseltrommel von Saleyer*, Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, Vol. XVI (1904) pp. 158-161, pls. XX, XXI. F. M. SCHNITGER, *Die ältesten Schiffsdarstellungen in Indonesien*, Archiv für Anthropologie, New Series, Vol. XXVIII (1943) pp. 141-145.

29) PELLIOT, *Le Fou-nan*, pp. 271, 303.

30) The fact that no drums of early type have been found in the area of ancient Fu-nan, and that probably none were produced there during the Dongson period, does not preclude the possibility that makers of bronze drums from Tonkin may have settled there at a later date, perhaps for a very short time only, and may have cast some drums in Fu-nan. We may call attention to conditions in Bali, where the art of casting drums had been introduced at an early period, no doubt from the continent, but where only one single complete drum produced on that island and fragments of one or two others have been preserved. Bronze drums were, and in certain parts still are, in great demand among the peoples of Southeast Asia. As a result, bronze casters seem to have migrated a good deal. According to a tradition which I heard in the Karen region of Burma in 1911, the art of casting bronze drums had been introduced there by "Cambodians".

THE DRUM NAMED MAKALAMAU

a. DETAIL FROM HEAD OF DRUM MAKALAMAU (From: *Cat. Praehist. Verz., Bat. Gen. v. K. en W.*)
b. HAN RELIEF OR COPY OF A HAN ORIGINAL — *c.* RELIEF FROM THE TOMB OF THE WU FAMILY, MIDDLE OF 2nd CENT. A.D. (From CHAVANNES, *Mission arch. dans la Chine sept.*)
d. and *e.* DETAILS OF THE BRONZE DRUMS FROM HOANG-HA (*d*) AND NGOC-LU (*e*), TONKIN (From *BEFEO*, XI.)

southern part of the Malay Peninsula [31]). Wherever Kia-ying may have been, if Kuṣāna merchants used to frequent one country of Southeast Asia, they may have visited others as well and some of them might very well have reached eastern Indo-China. Thus, the Kuṣāna figures on the drum need not necessarily refer to some special official embassy, but might represent simple Kuṣāna horse-traders or even Kuṣānas employed as grooms or superintendents of the stables, either of a Chinese governor of Tonkin or of a Hindu king of Fu-nan or Champā.

The possibility that the drum Makalamau might have been cast in Fu-nan, be it ever so slight, may induce us to investigate whether it does not show any evidence of Indian influence.

It is tempting to interpret as such the great importance accorded to the elephant. There are in all seventeen elephant figures on the drum. As mentioned above, one of the panels shows a man riding an elephant while another one depicts a man climbing over the elephant's head to his seat on its back. We know that elephants were extensively used by the kings of Fu-nan [32]). However, an elephant carrying three men appears on one of the Han reliefs of the 2nd cent. A.D. Moreover, we hear that the people of Nan Yüeh (Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Tonkin) were experts at elephant taming, one of these tamed elephants having been sent as a present to the Chinese court as early as 121 B.C. [33]). Therefore the elephants and elephant riders, while rather favoring the assumption that the drum was cast in an Indianized country, do not with certainty exclude a Tonkinese origin.

The panels on the lower portion of the drum's body are divided from each other by representations of wooden pillars (Plate f). The base of each of the two pillars in the illustration is reinforced by a cross-bar the ends of which rest on two short posts. Similarly, at the top, a cross-bar with vertical arms at its ends helps to support the roof. The roof itself is not shown, its place being occupied by an ornamental band. Pillars of this construction are typically Chinese and appear already in Han times [34]). To this purely Chinese element the artist has added a native one, the figure of a long-tailed animal with striped body, obviously that of a tiger similar to those carved tiger figures so often seen on the main pillars of men's houses among the Garo and various Naga tribes in Assam (Plate g).

It is possible that this whole arrangement was meant to indicate that the elephants and horses in the panels were standing in stables. The figure of a horse eating out of its manger favours such an interpretation. Horses standing in their stables are represented on Han

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31) P. PELLIOT, *Quelques textes chinois concernant l'Indochine hindouisée*, Études Asiatiques (Paris, 1925) Vol. II, pp. 249-250.

32) PELLIOT, *Le Fou-nan*, pp. 253, 255, 261, 269, 274.

33) CHAVANNES, *l.c.*, pl. XXVII. Berthold LAUFER, *Ivory in China*, Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropology Leaflet No. 21 (1925) p. 11. E. H. SHAFER, *The reign of Liu Ch'ang, last emperor of Southern Han*, Ph. D. dissertation, University of California (type-written manuscript, 1947) pp. 173-175.

34) CHAVANNES, *l.c.*, pls. XXIV, LXV, DVIII, DXLII. O. SIRÉN, *A history of early Chinese art*, Vol. IV (London, 1930) pl. 102. H. MASPERO, *Sur quelques objets de l'époque des Han*,. Études d'Orientalisme publiée par le Musée Guimet (1932) pp. 413-414, pls. XLIII, XLIV.

reliefs [35]). On the other hand, is it very probable that a horse and an elephant with riders on their backs would have been placed in stables?

In early Indian art reliefs are often set within architectural frames. Frequently, a whole pillar will be converted into the representation of a many-storied wooden building forming the common frame for the relief panels which, flanked by columns, fill its various floors. This is a well established stylistic principle, found at Bhārhut, at Bodhgayā, at Sāñcī, at Mathurā, at Amarāvatī, etc. No such architectural frame-work ever occurs on Han reliefs nor on any of the bronze drums with the sole exception of the drum Makalamau. It is possible that the artist who produced the drum had seen and to a certain extent wished to copy Indian reliefs, replacing the Indian columns flanking the panels by pillars of a more familiar design, a mixture of Chinese and indigenous elements? If this could be substantiated, it would form an almost certain proof of the drum's having been cast in an Indianized country, i.e. either in Fu-nan or in Champā. The fact that no such reliefs dating from the period in question are known in those regions does not mean much, since the vast majority of the buildings and sculptures in those early colonial kingdoms were made of wood and, as a result, have perished.

The parasol placed on top of the house (Plate a) also might be interpreted as a sign of Indian influence despite of its Chinese form. On Han reliefs, parasols are placed solely on chariots, never on buildings. The custom of placing them on the top of buildings as a sign of sanctity or of rank is typically Indian. In India itself it may have been restricted to stūpas and, perhaps, monasteries. Not so in colonial India. In Burma the royal palace and the wooden pavilions on the walls of Mandalay were surmounted by symbolic parasols wrought in iron. Nor should we be surprised by the apparent incongruity of a parasol's being placed on top of a building, not of Indian, but of native style. The custom of placing parasols on the roofs of chiefs' and men's houses is still found among the Batak of Sumatra and there too it is no doubt due to ancient Indian influence [36]). The wooden architecture of Burma, Siam, and Cambodia, not only that of ordinary dwelling houses, but also that of temples, monasteries, and palaces, even to-day contains elements traceable to indigenous, pre-Hindu styles. This proves that the Indian colonists at first must have largely adopted native styles of building which only later were transformed by blending them with stylistic elements of Indian origin.

I have tried to discuss the various alternatives of interpretation suggested by the designs on the drum from Sangeang. It was not possible either to prove or disprove the correctness of Pelliot's hypothesis. In any case, the date of the drum, 2nd to 3rd cent. A.D., coinciding precisely with that period when diplomatic and commercial relations existed between the Kuṣānas and the lands to the East and when royal envoys as well as Kuṣāna merchants used

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35) CHAVANNES, *l.c.*, pls. XL, XLIII.

36) Joachim VON BRENNER, *Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras* (Würzburg, 1894) p. 263 and fig. on p. 45. E. M. LOEB and R. HEINE-GELDERN, *Sumatra, its history and people* (Vienna, 1935) p. 321 and figs. 5 and 8.

to bring horses into Southeast Asia, strongly favour the assumption that the figures on the drum actually represent Kuṣānas who had come by sea from India. Whatever may have been its place of origin, Fu-nan, or Tonkin, or Annam, the drum Makalamau is a significant document of that blending of races and cultures which took place during those crucial centuries around the beginning of our era, when the civilizations of India and China began to overflow into the countries of Southeast Asia.

EARLY HISTORICAL CONTACTS BETWEEN THE OLD-IRANIAN EMPIRE AND INDIA

by

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Luzern

In the Mihr Yasht of the Awesta, X 130, and in chapters 7,74 and 8,90 of the Vidēvdād, an adjective of material appears, accepted, transcription *haosafnaēna*, which the Pahlavi translation renders by *pōlāvatēn* ($t = \delta$), adjective of material in *-ēn* < *-ēna* from *pōlāvaδ*, NP. *pūlād*, the word for steel borrowed by most West and East Asiatic languages. The three contexts leave no doubt as to the signification, but the etymology of both the OIr. and MIr. word remained unexplained.

Pōlāvaδ is a vrddhi adjective of provenance, older **pōhalāvada* < Pāli **pokkhalāvata*, from the name of the town Pukkhalāvati, mod. Chārsadda, about 12½ miles from Peshawar, Peukaleotis of the period of Alexander. The Skr. equivalent *pauṣkalāvata* is attested, but Pāli was the dialect of the country and so it is the Pāli name of that town of Gandhāra which survives in the name of "steel". It has the same value as later Sasanian and Arabic *hindūwānī(g)*.

OIr. *haosafnaēna* is evidently a word of identical formation: vrddhi adjective of a local name with the ending *-ēna* of material. This word for steel survives in Afghan. *ōspīna*, *ōspana*; Pamir. *spin* or *ispīn*; Osset. *äsfän*, and even in Chin. *pin tʻie*. These forms prove the Awestic vocalisation—introduced after the middle of the fourth century A.D.—to be wrong; the unvocalised archetype offered **HVSPNYN*, possibly **H'VSPNYN*. Thus it was written, perhaps with exception of Vid. 8, 90, where "steel" is "hammered", hence not the adjective in *-ēna*, but the noun without this ending is required: **HVSP(Y)N*, **hōspēn-*, adj. **hōspᵃ/ₙnēna*.

Names of provenance for metals and weapons and other objects of trade are common in many languages. In Greek, χάλυψ, the ethnic of the famous miners and metalurgists on the Pontus, serves as word for "steel of best quality". In MIr. and Aram. Syriac there is *šaburgān* (with many variants, leading to an original with initial *sp-* or *šp-*), represented in OIr. by Aw. *ahēna spr'ya* in an old gloss in Yt. X, 129, in the context in which also *hōspinēna* appears. The region, known to late antique geographers, between Parthia and Bactria, is mod.

Šuburgān or Šibirgān in Gōzagān, called Vēkrta gōžaka.—(*gōžaka.šayana) šayana in Vidēvdād I. Pliny praises this "khurasanian steel". Elias of Nisibis uses *šaburgān* as translation of Gr. χάλυψ, and the Syriac Alexander Book replaces by it even the ethnic itself, Chalybes of Pseudo-Callisthenes. So they replace one name of provenance by another one, and the Pahlavi translation of the Awesta does the same. For *pōlāvatēn* corresponds to later *hindūwānī* and means "Indian (iron)", whereas *hōspinēna* corresponds to the older famous *gladii hispanici, hispanae machaerae* of the Romans and means "Spanish (iron)".

The Romans, who did not use the older Gr. *Iberia* as official name for Spain, must have taken over the old indigenous name of Spain when they wrested the country from the Carthaginians. Between their *Ispania, Hispania* and the unknown indigenous form stands a Semitic medium.—The Iranians interpreted *Purātu,*—the Babylonian name of the Euphrates pronounced at their time *F^ur̄ātu, ^ufrātu,*—as though it were an Iranian compound *hufrātu,* the "good Frāt", and so the Punic name of Spain as though it were an Ir. compound **hu.spanya>*huspēn,* of which they formed the vrddhi *hōspēna* "good Spanish (iron)".

"Spanish iron" in Awestic verses is the effect of Phoenician trade, which an Assyrian document, the so-called Itinerary of Sarrukēnu šarr kiššati, attests during the last third of the 8th century B.C. The verses in Yt. X are part of a long hymn to Mithra in war and in peace, almost completely preserved, but scattered over the whole yasht. It begins with the pre-Zoroastrian invocation of "*Mithrā-Ahurā*", the highly archaic dvandva which post-Zoroastrian passages wrongly change into "*Ahurā-Mithrā*" against Pāṇini's old dvandva rule. And Mithra is invoked as *vispānām dahyūnām dahyupatiš,* which is the Median great-royal title. The hymn, therefore, belongs to the period of the Median empire, 7th to 6th centuries.

The Indian vrddhi *pōlāvad* was hardly borrowed long before the beginning of our era. At the last decade of the first century A.D., the Periplus Maris Erythraei describes the old town Pukkhalāvati under the form Proklaïs as the great trade emporium of Gandhāra and at that time it was certainly famous for its steel.

At the last third of the third century A.D., the inscriptions of Sapor I and the Kartēr call the eastern frontier town of the Sasanian empire *Pškbvr* (Arsac.) or *Pškpvly* (Sasan.), Gr. Πασκιβουρα. This is Peshawar near Pukkhalāvati, but the *-šk-* reflects no Indian form of the name, be it **Puruṣapura* or as more recently proposed **Pušapura.* The *-šk-* is a product not of Indian phonology, but of Iranian orthography, presupposing a written Old Iran. **puxšapura* for Ind. *puruṣapura.*

Those were the main towns of *Gandhāra,* beside *Θataguš* and *Hinduš* one of the three Indian satrapies of the Old Iranian Empire. The last was a new conquest by Darius, and a fragment of Scylax of Caryanda which describes as first place reached in Sind a "royal garrison" in the country of the Opiae on the united river—later Alexandria Opiane—proves that, against Herodotus' assertion, the conquest of Sind by Darius preceded Scylax' explorations of the Indus and the Indian Ocean.

The two other satrapies, Gandhāra and Θataguš, were inherited by Darius, whether they had been conquered by Cyrus or already formed part of the Median empire. The Persepolis

sculptures show one special type of Indians: Gandhāra and Θataguš differ only by various shapes of shawls they wear beside the *dhoti* common to the three, and the Θataguš by a small knob of hair on the top of the head, which recalls the *krobylos* of the Buddha.

The Old Persian inscriptions call the satrapy regularly *Gandāra,* but in the Akkadian versions this name changes with *paruparacsanna,* which corresponds to Gr. *Paropamisadai.* It is the Old Iran. vrddhi **pārōparisēna,* "people beyond the *uparisēna*-Hindukush, the mountain too high for the *Sēna* bird". The etymology of *sēna* is still under discussion, but it seems that the name, with its *s*, not *ϑ*, is at any rate Median, not Old Persian, that means that the Persians took it over from the older Median into their official lists, like quite a number of other names.

**Parōparisēna* designates the region of the high mountain valleys behind the Hindukush passes, of the upper Kābul river and Ghazni, and is as such opposed to Gandāra, which comprises the lowlands of the Kābul and Swat rivers east of it, as far as the Indus and even Taxila, including also the more northern regions of the Kuru and Kamboja.

The Greek copy of the official list of satrapies, which was in Hecataeus' possession in 500 B.C. and must have been about 18 years older, writes neither Gandāra nor Paropamisadai, but Πάκτυες. Those are three names of parts of the satrapy and every single one appears as official name applied to the whole. Thus, if Stephanus of Byzantium quotes Scylax saying Κασπάπυρος, πόλις Γανδαρική", but Herodotus "ἐκ Κασπατύρου τε πόλιος καὶ τῆς Πακτυικῆς γῆς" —there is no contradiction [1]).

The name *Paktyes* is an ethnic. At Doriscus, 480 B.C., they are described, quite different from all Indians, as wearing furlined coats, as befits mountaineers. Therefore, the Paropamisos is their habitat, and *Paropamisadai* is the local, Paktyes the ethnical name of the same people [2]). Beside the mention by an eyewitness at Doriscus, the name belongs exclusively to Hecataeus' list of Persian satrapies and to Scylax. It is therefore not an Indian name rendered into Greek from hearsay by Scylax, but a name read in Old Persian official documents, assimilated to Greek spelling. *-kt-* is no Iranian sound: it would at least be *-χt-*, **paχtu.* But *Paktyes*—occurring as *Paktýē, Paktýēs* in Asia Minor—is assimilated to this name from *πάξτυες, impossible in Greek, exact rendering of Old Iran. **paxštu,* whatever be the debated etymology of that name of the Afghans.

The name of the town in this satrapy from which Scylax started on his exploration of the Indus is quoted as *KaspaTyros* by Herodotus, as *KaspaPyros* by Stephanus. Like in the similar case of Opis on the Tigris, the site must have been the point of the river where practical navigation with large boats, not 'navigability', began. Another fragment of Scylax, Athenaeus II, 70, says "the country is irrigated by springs and water-engines, and on the hills κυνάρα and other plants grow", and "from there on high mountains extend on both banks of the Indus, densely covered with virgin forest and with ἀκάνθη κυνάρα". The

1) Other double names e.g. Bāχtiš-Sugda; Aθūra-Arbāya-Ebirnari; Μηδία καὶ Παραιτακηνή etc.

2) Other examples: Thamanaioi, ethnic of the people called Harahvatiya from their habitat; Aw. Tūra, Tūrya tribal name, Hvārazmiya geographical name.

admiral observes wood for shipbuilding, and the *kynara* are *platanus orientalis*, NP. *činār*, not as the deipnosophists believe artichokes. There are no mountains on both banks of the Indus south of the range separating Gandhāra from the Panjāb, and this paragraph belongs to a description of Gandhāra at the very beginning of Scylax' Periplus. Another fragment mentions the name Kaspapyros once more, speaking of "other" Indians living beyond the town, a remark which puts the town itself near the southeastern border of the satrapy Gandāra. Altogether the three indications clearly point to the Attock region and forbid the identification of Kaspapyros with Multan, which according to a Kashmiri author quoted by al-Bīrūnī, Kit. al-Hind, bore the old name *Kaśyapapura*. Multan, southern point of the Panjāb, was certainly not Scylax' starting point, though the Old Ind. name Kaśyapapura might appear as Kaspapura in Old Iranian.

There is a passage in the Periplus Mar. Er., never adduced but important for the solution of the problem of Kaspapyros. Speaking of Proklaïs-Pōlāvað, it mentions, as articles of export from that trade center to Barygaza-Broach, four spikenards Σκυθία, Καβολίτη, Παροπανισηνὴ and Καττυβουρίνη. These names are popular trade-names, heard and insuffently transposed into Greek, moreover misspelled in the manuscripts, and yet one cannot fail to recognize them as names of provenance.
insufficiently transposed into Greek, moreover misspelled in the manuscripts, and yet one cannot fail to recognize them as names of provenance.

Σκυθία, at the end of the first century, about a hundred years after Isidorus' Mansiones Parthicae, means Qandahār in Arachosia. Καβολίτη is the "nard from Kābul", known e.g. as precious present sent from there to the caliphs in Baghdad. Πατροπαπίγη is *παροπαμίση, the nard from the Paropamisos. Therewith we are in the satrapy Gandāra. The most famous of Indian drugs, the camphor, NP. Arab. *kāfūr*, Pali *kappūra*, would be missing unless it were hidden in καττυβουρίνη. Like the other names, this is a name of provenance and the place itself belonged to the satrapy Gandāra. The name of the town would survive in its product *kappūra*, as does the name of Pukkhalāvati-Proklaïs in *pōlāvað*, Thus one would restore *καπαβουρίνη in the Periplus Mar. Er.[3]) and link the place-name *kapabūra* with Scylax' κασπάπυρος or κασπάτυρος. The fact that we have this name transmitted in two shapes makes it at any rate problematic. The β in the late name of the drug would confirm Stephanus' π against Herodotus' τ, but the *-sp-* would become doubtful. Here again, Scylax did not render a Sanskrit or Pāli name as he heard it, but an Iranian name—with Median *-sp-* if so—written in official documents. Unless one could posit an older Pāli form fulfilling the two conditions: allowing a Median phonetic interpretation **kaspapura* at the end of the sixth century B.C. and an Indian phonetic change to *kappūra* at the period after Alexander, one ought to restore κασ(π)απυρος. <OIr. **kapapura* in Scylax, because Scylax' town fulfills the conditions given for the provenance of the *καπαβουρίνη kāfūr.

We have observed several Median—as opposed to Old Persian—forms among the official names of these regions. The name of the third Indian satrapy of the *Sattagydai* is

3) Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* vii, 21 παλλακόπας, but Appian. *Bell. Civ.* ii, 153 παλλακόττας for Akk. *pallūkatu*. Arab. *fallūja*.

spelled in the Old Pers. version of the inscriptional lists *θata.gu-*, as though the first element were OP. *θata-*, 'hundred'. But all foreign transcriptions have *sat(t)a-* with Median *s* (and as far as they express it at all, with gemination). The second element is determined as a consonant stem *gud-* by Akk. *sa.at.gu.du* in combination with Gr. *Sattagyd-*. In Awestic (Median), the "*guda* of the Ranhā" means something like "river-bed" of the Iaxartes. Thus the name is not Old Persian, but a Pāli name in Median transcription, with Med. **sata-* for Pāli *satta* "seven", which the Persians, not recognizing their *hafta* in it, interpreted as Med. *sata* "hundred", OP. *θata*. The name is a synonym of Skr. *sapta sindhava*, Haft Hind, or Panjāb.

Except for its mention in Hecataeus' copy of the list of satrapies, the name of the nation remained unknown to Greek literature. And the only historical facts known about them from OldPersian inscriptions are, that they formed part of the Empire before Darius and revolted during the Gōmāta episod. Their appearance as throne-bearers on the tomb of Darius (between 500 and 485 B.C.) indicates that the revolt was suppressed, apparently in connexion with the new conquest of Sind. Their representation on the sculptures of Artaxerxes I, too, may indicate that they were still under Persian rule. But the repetition of their figure on all the tombs of the later Achaemenids is no proof that they continued to be a satrapy. The archaic Median-Pāli name disappears from history after the early fifth century B.C.

The indications for political relations between India and Iran as early as the Median Empire gain in importance when combined with the fact that the first four kings of the elder branch of the Achaemenid house bear alternatively the names *Kūruš* and *Kambūžiya*, Cyrus and Cambyses. These names are derivatives of the ethnic names *Kuru* and *Kamboja*, tribes that lived in the satrapy Gandāra [4]). Both names can hardly be anything but honorifics the first king and his son received—cf. Britannicus, Germanicus—on account of their role played in military events in that country. Cyrus I appears under that name already in documents of Assurbanipal about 640 B.C.—The foundation of the Median Empire is fixed by Herodotus' remark "conquest of Agbatana by Cyrus (II) in the year 128 of the dynasty, 35 of Astyages", a true historical date, in the later usual, Iranian style "year 128 of the Fire of the founder, 35 of the Fire of the last king". The conquest of Agbatana was in 550 B.C., the foundation of the Empire in 678 B.C. And the Iranian-Indian political relations go back to the very beginning of that Empire.

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4) Kamboja are the Ταμβυζοι of Ptolemy's map.

A BALINESE FOLKTALE

by

C. HOOYKAAS
Batavia

Dear Guru! When I was a boy of fifteen years, our history teacher read to us your translation of the story of Sāwitrī; it was a revelation to me. In my early student years, you read many beautiful pieces of Sanskrit literature with us, one of which was the Mṛcchakaṭikā, the translation (and edition!) of which aroused my admiration. During the war you returned to an old love and translated the Mudrarākshasa, thus proving your undying affection for literature.

In presenting to you the text and synoptical translation of a very simple Balinese folktale, I hope to bring to your attention a rich mine, or may it even be: a Gulistān, which hitherto has remained almost unknown. The Mededeelingen van de Kirtya Liefrinck-van der Tuuk, Singaradja (Bali), contain a few hundred of these stories, for the most part beautifully told. I think that the only existing translation of two of them by my wife, has appeared in 'De Fakkel' (Batavia, Mei 1941), illustrated with modern Balinese drawings. I hope you will enjoy our modest endeavour to draw your attention to this humble side of Balinese art.

Singaradja, August 1st, 1947.

Satoea Mèn Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing.

Ada koné toetoer-toetoeran satoea Mèn Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing ngĕlah, pianak kĕmbar patoeroe loeh, mara koné matoewoeh tĕloelas oton. Né kĕlihan adanina Ni Kĕlodan, né tjerikan Ni Kĕlontjing. Mèn Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing sai-sai koné loeas madagang batoen nangka; pianakné makadadoea djoemah dadi djoeroe idjĕng.

Katjarita djani Mèn Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing makikèn lakar loeas madagang batoen nangka, lantas kaoekina pianakné makadadoea: „Tjĕning Kĕlodan moeah Kĕlontjing, mémé „djani loeas madagang; sĕlĕgang ibané

The Story of Mèn Klodan Klonching.

There is a tale about the Mother of Klodan and Klonching; she had twin girls, who had reached the age of 13 [Balinese] years [of 210 days]. The elder one was called Klodan, the younger Klonching. Their mother left the house every day to trade the stones of nangka-fruits; the children stayed at home to guard the house.

One day when Mèn Klodan Klonching was on the point of leaving her house to trade nangka-stones, she called to her two children: "My little ones Klodan and Klon- "ching, now your mother is going out to

„ngidjĕng; djoemahan mĕtèn tongosang „ibané adjak dadoea, kantjing mĕn djĕlana- „né! Njanan lamoen mémé dja tĕka makaoe- „kan, ènggalang ampakin djĕlanan; lamoen „anak lènan kaoek-kaoek, da pĕsan ngampa- „kin djĕlanan!" Kéto pitoetoerné Mèn Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing tĕkèn pianakné, lantas loeas koné ia madagang batoen nangka.

"trade; look after yourselves well; both of "you must stay in the inner room, and close "the door! When I return and call to you, "hasten to open the door!" So said Mèn Klodan Klonching to her children, and she went out to trade nangka-stones.

Gĕlising satoea soeba koné sandja, lantas moelih ia oeli madagang, toer ngasih-asih ia makaoekan: „Njai, njai, Kĕlodan Kĕlon- „tjing, dong ampakin mémé djĕlanan; mémé „mara tĕka oeli madagang batoen nangká." Lantas bangoen koné Ni Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing ngampakin nèmènné djĕlanan; klĕtjèk gĕdĕmboeang. Lantas moelihan koné mèmènné.

To make a long story short, the afternoon arrived, and she came home from her trading, and sweetly she called: "Girls, Klodan "and Klonching, be so kind as to open the "door for your mother; I have just come "home from my trade in nangka-stones." Klodan and Klonching rose to open the door for their mother; [its noise sounded like] klĕchèk gĕdĕmbuáng. And the mother entered.

Maninné boein koné masi loeas madagang Mèn Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing; njandjaang mara koné tĕka toer ngasih-asih ia makaoekan boeka ibinné. Sai-sai koné soebilang tĕka oeli madagang, kéto dogèn tangkĕpné makaoekan.

The following day Mèn Klodan Klonching again left her house to trade; only in the afternoon did she return and again called sweetly to them as she had done on the previous day. Daily whenever she came home from her trading she always acted in the same way when calling [to her children].

Ento jèn kènkèn baja lantas ada koné rangsasa ngintip, toeara adjinanga tĕkèn Mèn Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing sĕdĕkan ia ngaoekin pianakné. Lantas maninné boein koné kalahina madagang Ni Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing tĕkèn mèmènné, kagèt ngĕmaloenin I Rangsasa djani kĕmo makaoekan. Kĕnĕhné noelad tjara moenjin Mémé Kĕlodan Kĕlontjingé, sakéwala I Rangsasa moenjinné gaoeng: „Njair-njair Kĕlodar Kĕlontjir, dong ampa- „kir mèmèr djĕlanar, mèmèr, mara tĕkar oeli „madagar batoer nangkar."

One unlucky day there was an ogress who spied on Mèn Klodan Klonching without her knowing it, while she was calling to her children. Next morning, when Mèn Klodan Klonching had left her children to go to her trade, the Ogress went there earlier and began to call to them. It was her intention to imitate the voice of Mèn Klodan Klonching, but the voice of the Ogress was deep and husky: "Girls, Klodar Klonchir, oper ther "door for your mother, Ire haver juster "comer homer fror mire trader ir nangkar- "stoner."

Mara dingeha tekèn Ni Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing, lantas takoet koné ia ngĕdjĕr djoemahan mĕtèn, baané lèn moenjin anaké makaoekan tĕkèn ibi poeané, djani gĕdé sada

As soon as Klodan and Klonching heard [her voice], they began to tremble with fear in the inner room. as the voice of the person shouting was different from that of previous

baoer moenjin anaké kaoek-kaoek, lantas toesing koné ampakina. Boein koné I Rangsasa makaoekan, masi tpesing koné njak ampakina těkèn Ni Kělodan Kělontjing. Lantas magědi koné I Rangsasa.

Njananné soeba sandja, lantas těka koné mèmènné makaoekan sada djangih ngasih-asih: „Njai, njai Kělodan Kělontjing, dong „ampakin mémé djělanan, mémé mara těka „oeli madagang batoen nangka!" Lantas bangoen koné Ni Kělodan Kělontjing ngampakin djělanan; klětjèk gěděmboeang; moelihan koné mènènné. Lantas masadoe koné pianakné makadadoea: „Mémé, mémé, mrè„rèn dja maloe mémé madagang; itjang ta„koet ngidjěng djoemah; itoeni ada anak „kaoek-kaoek, moenjinné gědé sada baoer; „njèn ja ěnto aah mémé?"

Masaoet mèmènné: „Ento moenjin I Rang„sasa totonan. Mani lamoen ěnto boein maka„oekan, da pěsan ngampakina. Mani mémé „lakar loeas masi madagang; jèn mrèrèn „mémé madagang, njěn njai apa kadaar?" Soeba koné kéto, maninné boein koné loeas madagang Mèn Kělodan Kělontjing, pianakné ngidjěng masi djoemahan mětèn makantjing djělanan.

Katjarita djani I Rangsasa, itěp koné njaktjak loloh toewoeng kripit těkèn akah toeba djěnoe moeah babakan latěng ngioe, ěnto koné anggona loloh, mèh ada oelihan atjoebèk koné ia nginěm loloh, kanti gěnit pakroenjoek asan kakolonganné I Rangsasa. Lantas těgaranga djani maladjah makaoekan. Njak koné djangih djani moenjinné I Rangsasa, sada mirib těkèn moenjin Mèn Kělodan Kělontjingé. Lantas ngèntjolang koné djani I Rangsasa kěno kaoek-kaoek ngasih-asih

days; the voice of the person who was now shouting was harsh and rough; so they did not open the door. Once more the Ogress shouted, but Klodan and Klonching again refused to open [the door]. Then the Ogress went away.

Now when the afternoon came, the mother returned and called with her clear and affectionate voice: "Girls, Klodan and Klonching, "open the door for your mother, I have just "returned from trading nangka-stones." Then Klodan and Klonching rose and opened the door, klěchèk gěděmbuáng; then the mother entered the house. Thereupon both the children told her: "Mother dear, "first rest from your work; we have been "frightened while guarding the house; some "time ago somebody was shouting, its voice "was harsh and rough; who do you think it "was, mother?"

Their mother answered: "That was the "voice of the Ogress. To-morrow when that "voice shouts again you must *not* open the "door. To-morrow I must still leave the house "to trade, [for] if I stopped trading, what "would you get to eat?" So she said, and the next morning Mèn Klodan Klonching left the house again to trade, and the children stayed again in the inner room, having closed the door.

To return to the Ogress. She was busy crushing the fruits of tèrong-tuung and roots of tuba-jěnu and scorched bark of latěngngiu, and making a potion from it. She had almost got a great cooking-pot full of it and she swallowed it until her body itched and her throat felt as if ants were biting it. Then she tried to learn how to call. Now the voice of the Ogress succeeded in sounding clearer, and nearly like the voice of Mèn Klodan Klonching. Then the Ogress went quickly

sada djangih: „Njai, njai Kĕlodan Kĕlon-
„tjing, dong ampakin mémé djĕlanan! Mémé
„mara tĕka oeli madagang batoen nangka."

Lantas dingĕha tĕkèn Ni Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing, bané djangih toer ngasih-asih patoeh boeka moenjin mèmènné, lantas bangoen koné djani makadadoea ngampakin djĕlanan, klĕtjèk gĕdèmboeang. Lantas tĕngkĕdjoet djani Ni Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing ngadjinang I Rangsasa matanné gĕdé ngĕntjorong, toer tjalingné rènggah. Ngĕling koné djani makadadoea djĕrat-djĕrit ngidih toeloeng. Lantas saoepa Ni Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing tĕkèn I Rangsasa, brokonga makadadoea ènggalanga djani adjaka koemahné, lantas wadahina koné pĕti, toer pĕdjanga di langgatanné.

Djani katjarita Mèn Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing, soeba koné moelih oeli madagang, laoet dapĕtanga djĕlananné mègègan. Lantas alih-alihina pianakné makadadoea masi toesing tĕpoekina. Boein kaoek-kaoekina, masi toesing koné ada masaoet, ditoe mara pĕdas baana pianakné palaibang rangsasa. Lantas ngĕling koné gĕlar-gĕloer masasambatan.

Nah soeba koné kéto, lantas tĕka sang bangkoeng kĕmo matakon: „Mèn Kĕlodan „Kĕlontjing, ĕnto koenapa dadi sĕdih masa- „sambatan?" Masaoet koné Mèn Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing: „Arah, akoe latjoer gatiné, pa- „nakkoené palinga tĕkèn I Rangsasa". Lantas masaoet boein sang bangkoeng: „Mèn Kĕ- „lodan Kĕlontjing! soeoed dja ngĕling, nja- „nan akoedja ngalihang pianakmoené". Boein masaoet Mèn Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing: „Nah lamoen moe njidaang ngalihang, nja- „nan oepahina dja oot apaloengan."

Lantas tĕka djani sang bikoel laoet mata-

[to the house] and in a quite clear and affectionate voice called out: "Girls, Klodan "and Klonching! open the door for your "mother! I have just returned from my trading nangka-stones."

Klodan and Klonching listened, and as it was clear and affectionate as their mother's voice, they both rose and opened the door, klĕchèk gĕdĕmbuáng. Then Klodan and Klonching were startled when they saw the Ogress's great flickering eyes, and her menacing fangs. The two girls began to weep and to call for help. The Ogress picked up the two girls from the floor and carrying them in her arms she bore them off to her house, where she put them in a trunk which she stored in the ceiling.

Now the storey turns to Mèn Klodan Klonching; she had returned from her trade, and found the door wide-open. She sought everywhere for her children but could not find either of them. Repeatedly she called them, but still there was nobody who answered; now it was clear to her that the Ogress had run away with them. She wept and sobbed heavily.

When things had come to this pass, the sow went to her and asked: "Mèn Klodan "Klonching, why are you so distressed and "why do you weep so bitterly? Mèn Klodan Klonching answered: "Alas! I am very miser- "able; the Ogress has stolen my children!" Then the sow answered: "Mèn Klodan Klon- "ching! stop weeping, for I will look for "your children." Mèn Klodan Klonching replied: "If you succeed in finding them, "then I will reward you with a through full "of chaff."

Then came the mouse and asked: "Mèn

A BALINESE FOLKTALE

Drawn by D. W. Ding, Bali

kon: „To koenapa Mèn Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing „dadi ngĕling masasambatan?" Masaoet Mèn Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing: „Arah, akoe la-„tjoer gatiné, pianakkoené palinga tĕkèn I „Rangsasa." Lantas masaoet boein sang bi-koel: „Mèn Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing! soeoed dja „ngĕling, njanan akoe dja ngalihang pianak-„moené!" Boein masaoet Mèn Kĕlodan Kĕ-lontjing: „Nah, lamoen njidaang moe ngali-„hang pianakkoené, oepahina dja padi."

"Klodan Klonching, why do you weep and "cry continuously?" Mèn Klodan Klonching answered: "Alas! I am very miserable; the "Ogress has stolen my children!" Then the mouse answered: "Mèn Klodan Klonching! "stop weeping, for I will look for your chil-"dren." Mèn Klodan Klonching replied: "If "you succeed in finding them, then I will "reward you with rice."

Lantas tĕka koné sang koeloek kĕmo mata-kon: "Mèn Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing! ĕnto koena-„pa dadi ngĕling masasambatan?" Masaoet koné Mèn Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing: „Arah! akoe latjoer gatiné, pianakkoené makadadoea pa-„linga tĕkèn I Rangsasa." Lantas masaoet koné boein sang koeloek: „Lamoen kéto, „dong soeoed djani Mèn Kĕlodan Kĕlon-„tjing masasambatan, njanan akoedja ngali-hang pianakmoené." Boein koné masaoet Mèn Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing: „Nah, lamoen „njidaang moe ngalihang pianakkoené, oepa-„hina dja nasi atĕngkoelak."

Then came the dog to her and asked: "Mèn Klodan Klonching, why do you weep "and cry continuously?" Mèn Klodan Klon-ching answered: "Alas! I am very miserable; "the Ogress has stolen my children!" Then the dog answered: "If this is so, then stop "weeping, Mèn Klodan Klonching, for I "will look for your children." Mèn Klodan Klonching replied: "If you succeed in fin-"ding them, then I will reward you with half "a coconut full of steamed rice."

Lantas boein tĕka djani marèrod sang ka-tak, sang dongkang, sang ĕnggoeng moeah sang gadagan; makĕdjang pada trĕsna mata-kon tĕkèn Mèn Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing, toer ia makĕdjang pada masanggoep ngalihang I Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing. Mèn Kĕlodan Kĕlon-tjing masi njanggoepang lakar ngoepahin amah-amahan asing dadĕmĕnannjané soang-soang. Boein koné tĕka sang djangkrik, sang balang kèkèkan, tĕkèn sang omang-omang tanggoe doeri koné tĕka ngaba prakpak. Ma-kĕdjang masi mabrioek atjĕpokan pada ma-takon, toer masi njanggoepang ngoopin nga-lihang I Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing.

Then came one after the other the com-mon frog, the toad, the tree-frog and the bull-frog; and with pity they all questioned Mèn Klodan Klonching, and all of them promised to search for Klodan and Klon-ching. Mèn Klodan Klonching promised to reward them, each with his favourite food. Moreover the cricket, the grass-hopper call-ing 'kèkèk', and finally the hermit-crab, carrying with him his torch. They all in a body asked at the same time, and promised to help to search for Klodan and Klonching.

Nah soeba koné kéto, makĕdjang koem-poel djani tamioenné Mèn Kĕlodan Kĕ-lontjing, sang bangkoeng, sang bikoel, sang koeloek, sang katak, sang dongkang, sang

So at this point, all the guests of Mèn Klodan Klonching assembled: sow, mouse, dog, common frog, toad, bull-frog, tree-frog, cricket, grass-hopper calling 'kèkèk' and the

gadagan, sang ĕnggoeng, sang djangkrik, sang balang kèkèkan moeah sang omang-omang. Sagĕrĕhan djani madjalan atjĕpokan, toelèn boeka sĕkaa gamboehé mara loeas ngalalawang. Makĕdjang koné soeba pada adoeng paitoenganné, lakar mĕsoeang kawisajanné soang-soang, kajangé soeba nĕkĕd di djoemah I Rangsasané.

hermit-crab. And they all started off together; indeed it was like a company of wandering musicians, a 'gambuh', setting out. All of them agreed that each should use his own abilities, when they arrived at the house of the Ogress.

Gelising satoea, katjarita soeba koné djani pada tĕkĕd di koeri padiwangan I Rangsasané, laoet ditoe djani pada madabdaban lakar maigĕl-igĕlan. Katjarita sang katak, sang dongkang, sang ĕnggoeng, sang gadagan, itĕp ja magambĕl maotjèt-otjètan matjatjandĕtan; sang dongkang koné djoeroe ngisi taboeh, sang katak djani ngongkèk dadi djoeroe gangsa maotjètan, sang gadagan djoeroe kĕnok, sang ĕnggoeng djoeroe ngĕmpoelin, sang djangkrik barĕng masi dadi djoeroe soeling, sang balang kèkèkan djani masĕndon, lantas bangoen koné sang bangkoeng ngigĕl djani ngalaléto sragsag-srègsèg.

To make the story short, it is told that when they arrived at the outer gate of the house of the Ogress, they prepared to give a dance-performance. The frog, the toad, the tree-frog, the bull-frog, were busily making music, first one, then the other; the toad leading the melody, the common frog was busily playing the 'gangsa', interspersing the melody with his sound of 'kèk', the bull-frog beat time [like a deep bronze gong], the tree-frog played the 'kempul' (i.e. a smaller gong), the cricket at the same time played the flute, the grass-hopper with his 'kèkèk' sang, and then the sow rose to dance, all the time tripping to and fro.

Lantas dingĕha koné tĕkèn I Rangsasa anaké oejoet magagambĕlan diwangan oemahné, laoet pĕsoean I Rangsasa djani mabalih, dapĕtanga koné sang bangkoeng sĕdĕng gatina ngigĕl ngalaléto, boein koné njrègsèg. Ngĕpah koné boengoetné I Rangsasa, baan dĕmĕnné ia mabalih, lantas barĕng ia magĕndingan: „Amoenné makĕlon akoené „dini, toembèn djani akoe mabalih, bangkoengé bisa mangigĕl."

The Ogress heard that somebody was making a loud noice on the gamĕlan outside her house, so she went out to see the spectacle, and found the sow untiringly dancing and tripping. The Ogress, enjoying the spectacle, opened her mouth and joined in the singing: "Since I have been here, this is the first time "that I have seen such a sight: fancy a sow "being able to dance!"

Katjarita sang bikoel ngèntjolang koné njalibsib moelihan I Rangsasané, lantas dingĕha tĕkèn sang bikoel Ni Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing ngĕling sĕngi-sĕngi ditĕngah pĕtiné. Lantas porota pĕtiné ĕnto tĕkèn sang bikoel; soeba koné bongkang pĕtiné, lantas mamĕsoe I Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing. Sang bikoel djani

The story tells that the mouse then hurriedly slipped into the house of the Ogress; she heard Klodan and Klonching weeping and sobbing in the trunk. The mouse gnawed a hole in the trunk, and then the trunk opened and out came Klodan and Klonching. Then the mouse hastened to seek the

ngèntjolang ngalih sang koeloek, laoet ia makisi-kisi: „Sang koeloek, sang koeloek, „kĕmo ènggalang gandong adjak moelih Ni „Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing, kĕmo ka loeanan oe„mahné ambahin moelih, apang toesing ta„wanga tĕkèn I Rangsasa toengkoel ia dini „mabalih!" Lantas maklijĕng koné sang koeloek ngènggalang djani moelihan, lantas gandonga Ni Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing adjaka moelih tĕkèn sang koeloek.

Sang koeloek boein koné malipĕtan laoet kadjangina adjaka sang bikoel kasoegihan I Rangsasané. Soeba koné tĕlah baana ngisidngisidang kasoegihan I Rangsasané. Sang koeloek ditoe ngĕbagin kasoegihanné sang bikoel toendéna ngaoekin sang omangomang, apang antjoengina prakpak oemahné I Rangsasa. Lantas ngèntjolang djani sang bikoel makisi-kisi ngawangsitin noendèn noendjĕl oemah I Rangsasané. Lantas ngalidkid djani sang omang-omang ngaba api, laoet ĕndjoetina djani oemahné I Rangsasa.

Soeba koné kéto, sang bangkoeng ngorahang soeba kĕnjĕl ia ngigĕl toer marèrèn. I Rangsasa djani mara koné makĕbiah ingĕt tĕkèn sasĕpĕlanné, lantas moelihan djani ngoengkabin pĕti, toesing ada ditoe Ni Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing, toer pĕdasina pĕtiné soeba bongkang.

Lantas balihina kasoegihanné, soeba masi telah ilang. Mara ia noelèngèk, kagèt soeba marombagan apiné badoeoer toer raab ampikné soeba koné matjĕpol ngĕmpĕtin djĕlanan, kanti toesing njidaang pĕsoe djani I Rangsasa. Lantas mati koné I Rangsasa poeoen djoemahan mĕtèn. Sang koeloek, sang bikoel, sang bangkoeng, makĕdjang koné djani pada ngaba kasoegihan magrètgotan moelih koemah Mèn Kĕlodan Kĕlontjingé. Mèn Kĕlodan Kĕlontjing kĕndĕl gati kĕ-

dog and whispered to him: "Dog, dog, hurry "up, put Klodan and Klonching on your "back and take them home, [but] go in the "back of the house and slip home by the side "of it in order that the Ogress may not see "you, while she is so absorbed in watching "the spectacle". Immediately the dog started and went, with Klodan and Klonching on his back, to their home.

The dog came back and accompanied by the mouse he made many journeys to carry off the treasures of the Ogress. All the treasures of the Ogress had by now been carried away. The dog kept watch over the treasures and told the mouse to call the hermit-crab in order that he should set the house of the Ogress on fire with his torch. Then the mouse hurriedly whispered and gave the sign to set the house of the Ogress alight. The hermit-crab stealthily brought his torch and set the house of the Ogress on fire.

At this point the sow said that she was weary from dancing and paused to rest. Now for the first time the Ogress remembered that she had things to take care of; she entered her house and opened the trunk, but Klodan and Klonching were not there and she saw that the trunk had a hole in it.

Then she went to look for her treasures, but they were also gone. As soon as she looked upwards, she was frightened because up aloft a great fire was raging, and the roof of the front-veranda had already collapsed, barring her exit; so the Ogress was now no longer able to get out. Thus she burned to death in her inner room. The dog, the mouse, and the sow, all heavily loaded, then transported the treasures to the house of Mèn Klodan Klonching. Mèn Klodan Klonching

něhné, djani mara bakatanga pianakné makadadoea, toer makatang kasoegihan sěpala. Lantas sai-sai koné ia masoekan-soekan adjaka tamioenné makědjang.

was very happy, because she had got back her two daughters and in addition had acquired riches [by no means] unsubstantial. From now on every day she was happy, enjoying herself with feasts for all her guests.

NOTE ON THE ERAS IN INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS

by

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Many different eras are used in Indian inscriptions, and as my dear old friend Professor Vogel is a leading authority in this branch of research I have ventured to make some few remarks. Our chief material has been summarized in the following well-known publications: Kielhorn's Lists of the Inscriptions of Northern and Southern India, Epigraphia Indica, Vols. V and VII, respectively; Lüders' List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, ibidem Vol. X; Fleet's Indian Epigraphy, The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Oxford 1907, Vol. II; with regard to Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions see my edition in Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, i.

It would be impossible to discuss the numerous questions connected with these eras in a short paper, and I shall therefore only make some few remarks which I hope will contain new information of some importance, and I shall try to avoid repetitions made by other scholars and myself when I have no important objections to make. Nor shall I make any reference to eras with epochs earlier than the Aryan invasion of India, such as the Kali Yuga reckoning of 3102 B.C. and the Saptarṣi era of 3076 B.C., though some Indian scholars believe that they have an historical foundation, just as our school-books, when I was a boy, gave us the date of the world's creation.

There is no indication of the existence of eras in Vedic times or in the Indus Civilization. The oldest Indian eras are, moreover, religious and not secular reckonings, starting from the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra and Buddha, respectively. The former is used in the Khāravela inscription, the latter early became the era of Ceylon, but from India Kielhorn only gives one example, No. 575 of his Northern List, dated in the Buddha-year 1813, corresponding to A.D. 1176, where we may have to do with a foreigner.

The figure 256 occuring in Aśoka's Minor Rock Edicts has, it is true, sometimes been considered to contain a date, but Professor F. W. Thomas has shown, JA X, 15, 520, JRAS 1916, pp. 113 ff., that it refers to the nights he was to spend abroad on tour, and M. Jean Filliozat has kindly pointed out to me that it exactly represents their number as calculated from the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga [1]).

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1) See *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 24/1/47.

With regard to the method used in dating inscriptions in India we can see from the Aśoka inscriptions that it was to mention the regnal year of the issuer without reference to an era. Such a one could only come into being when a king's successors continued to use his reckoning, and the earliest instance we can trace with certainty is the Vikrama era, which has remained in use down to the present day, for I hope I have proved, AO I, pp. 13 ff., that the assumption of a Maurya era, which has played a certain rôle in the discussion, is based on a wrong interpretation of a passage in the Khāravela inscription.

The Vikrama era itself was not originally an era but an arrangement of the year of the Mālavas in four equal parts. As shown by Kielhorn, Göttinger Nachrichten, 1891, pp. 179 ff., its name is due to the fact that its year is Kārttikādi, beginning at the autumnal equinox in the month Kārttika (October-November), for the autumn is the *Vikramakāla*, the time when one goes out in warfare. It is only much later, in the Vikrama year 1086, that we find the year designated *Vikrama-saṃvat*. And then it could not be a long step to the assumption that it was, like other eras, instituted by a king, but a king Vikrama is not mentioned before Vikrama 1050. Then when the Gupta ruler assumed the title *Vikramāditya*, sun of valour, this led, as is well known, to the belief that his court-poet *Kālidāsa* lived in the time of the fictitious founder of the Vikrama era. Habent sua fata verbula.

It has been suggested that the Vikrama era actually had a founder, *viz. Azes*, who uses it in the Taxila silver scroll and the Kalawān inscription of the years A.D. 77 and 79, where we find *ayasa, ajasa* added after the date. Such cannot, however, be the case. We have no example in ancient Indian inscriptions of the name of a ruler in the genitive being added to a date unless that ruler was actually reigning when the record was issued. Even the greatest Kuṣāṇa ruler Kaniṣka whose regnal years were continued by his immediate successors, and who is usually considered as the "founder" of the Kaniṣka era, only adds his name in the genitive as long as he was reigning. His successors added their own names instead.

This addition *ayasa, ajasa* consequently proves that Azes was then the ruling king. And it is possible to give an approximate date for his mounting the throne. In the Vikrama year 122 of the Panjtār inscription of the Kūjula Kadphises this king is introduced as ruling, but at the date of the silver scroll and the Kalawān record he has been succeeded by Azes.

The second great secular era of A.D. 78-79 was introduced by Wima Kadphises [2]), but not as a new era, but as an indication that he had taken over the control of administration. As shown by Kielhorn, *l.c.*, the years of the Saka era are *Caitrādi*, beginning with the equinox of the month Caitra (March-April).

Wima Kadphises himself retired to Central Asia, but his immediate successors ruled in India till the death of the last of them, devaputra Vāsudeva, in Saka 99 [3]), when a reference to them could not any more be understood.

The old Kuṣāṇa dynasty then ceased to reign in India, but members of the family continued to rule in parts of Central Asia, and there we find a king *jezdaṃpurā Wāsudewa*,

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2) See AO, XX, pp. 117 ff.

3) See correction in LÜDERS' List, p. 168, Nr. 75

i.e. the same title and name as the last of Wima Kadphises' immediate successors in India whose name *Vāsudeva* shows that he had become quite Indianized [4]).

The Śaka year was a Caitrādi year, but the Kārttikādi year remained in use as well. It was employed by Wima's father Kūjula Kadphises, as we can see from his Panjtār inscription of A.D. 66, where he appears as *maharaya Guṣana,* from the Taxila silver scroll and the Kalawān inscription, where Azes is mentioned as the ruling king in A.D. 77 and 79, respectively. And the same was evidently the case in Central Asia.

For we know that the greatest of all Kuṣāṇas, king Kaniṣka, used the Kārttikādi year when he came to India from Central Asia and introduced the Kaniṣka era.

The epoch of this reckoning is still *sub judice.* The last attempt at calculating it has been made by M. Ghirshman, JA, Tome 234, 1943-5, pp. 59 ff. He maintains that Kaniṣka ascended the throne in A.D. 144 and that his dynasty remained in power for 98 [5]) years, *i.e.* till A.D. 242-3, the last year of Vāsudeva.

I cannot accept this explanation. Vāsudeva was a predecessor and not a descendant of Kaniṣka, and his inscriptions are dated in the Śaka era of 78/9 A.D., *i.e.* his last date corresponds to A.D. 177-8. As long as he reigned in India Kaniṣka could not set out from Central Asia for the conquest of India. After his demise, on the other hand, we cannot expect to find inscriptions dated in the era of this pre-Kaniṣka Kuṣāṇa dynasty in India, and we do not find any.

Then we have the fact that Chinese sources give us information about a Ta Yüe-chi Po-t'iao who sent an embassy to China in 229 A.D. [6]). The name Po-t'iao has been explained as corresponding to Vāsudeva, an identification about which I am incompetent to judge. If it is right we must here have to do with another Vāsudeva than the last of the Kuṣāṇa rulers before Kaniṣka.

We know that Kaniṣka had two sons, Huviṣka and Vasiṣka (Vajheṣka), the latter being the father of Kaniṣka II of the Āra inscription, and if this Vasiṣka is the Po-t'iao of the Chinese source, the beginning of the Kaniṣka era may have been about A.D. 200.

In India we have records dated in the Kaniṣka era already from his first year (in the Kaniṣka-vihāra in Peshawar) and his 3rd (Sārnāth), and in both he appears as a protector of Buddhism. His reason was certainly rather political than religious.

We know from Chinese sources [7]) that the Chinese learnt to know Buddhist sūtras in the year 2 B.C., and Kaniṣka evidently wanted to make use of the Buddhist sympathies of his new subjects. Whether he gave his name to an already existing Vihāra or gave orders to build a new one we cannot decide. His aim was to be considered as a national Indian ruler and his era as a national Indian era, and even after the demise of his immediate successors

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4) See SBAW 1939, Hist. phil. Klasse XX, where I have misunderstood the text.

5) Read 99, see the correction in LÜDERS' List, p. 168, Nr. 75.

6) Cf. LÜDERS, SBAW 1912, 424 ff.; Ind. Ant. 1913, 132 ff.

7) See FRANKE, Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Geschichte der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens, p. 72.

we find rulers in India who claimed descent from him. But there was no more an *imperial* Kuṣāṇa dynasty in India. We can soon trace a new development, connected with the increasing importance of the Rājpūts, which led to the establishment of a new national imperial era.

The Kalacuri or Cedi era with its epoch in A.D. 245 did not come into general use, but the Gupta era of A.D. 320 became a real general imperial era in India. Other attempts such as the Harṣa era of A.D. 605 or 606, the Kollam era of 825, the Newār era of A.D. 879, the Lakṣmaṇasena era of A.D. 1119, the Saptarṣi era with its epoch in B.C. 3076(?) I shall only mention in passing.

The oldest secular eras in India were evidently brought to India by foreigners from abroad. The Seleucid era was apparently never used in India. The only record which has been supposed to use it was found "somewhere in Central Asia", and even the reading of the assumed date is uncertain. Nor are there any certain traces of an old Saka era as I formerly believed. It might be assumed that the reckoning used in the Patika plate dated in the year 72 was a Saka era, for Patika was certainly a Saka. We must therefore try to find out when the plate was made. Several atempts have been made, also by myself (see AO XX, p. 113), but I think that I can now arrive at more precise results.

The inscriptions on the Mathurā Lion Capital bear witness to a gathering of Saka chiefs in Mathurā, and among them we find two Mahākṣatrapas Patika and Rajula. Rajula's son Soḍāsa, who was then only a kṣatrapa, is mentioned as Mahākṣatrapa on the Amohinī tablet of the Vikrama year 72, *i.e.* A.D. 15. If we assume, for argument's sake, that he was then sixty years old, he would have been born B.C. 45 and his father Rajula ca. B.C. 60.

If we further assume that Patika was of the same age we can draw certain conclusions.

In the Patika plate Patika is evidently represented as a young man, because he is acting under the instructions of a teacher (we must read *saja uvajhaena Rohiṇimitreṇa* "together with his teacher Rohiṇimitra"). If he were then twenty years old the date of the plate would be ca. B.C. 40, and the epoch ca. B.C. 118. Now we know that information about what had happened in Northwestern India was brought to China by Chang-k'ien in B.C. 126 [8]), and these happenings included the Saka conquest of Ki-pin, which must accordingly have taken place *earlier* than 126, and an era of B.C. 118 might commemorate this conquest, and we would have a reasonable occasion for establishing an era. For this reason I think that the many hypothetical statements made above may be fairly right.

I think that this same era is used in a Brāhmī inscription found in Mathurā (Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā), No. 24 in Lüders' List, dated in Saṃ. 15 and mentioning the *Aryya Vasulā,* who is also named in another inscription found in the same place and dated Saṃ. 86, Lüders No. 0. Palaeographically there is no great difference between the two records. We must, however, bear in mind that we are not always in a position to judge with certainty about the shape of the Brāhmī letters at different periods not too long remote from each other. The plates in the oldest volumes of the Epigraphia Indica are frequently faked and those in Bühler's Palaeography are often based upon them.

8) See FRANKE, *l.c.*, p. 15.

The discrepancy between the two dates 15 and 86 I can only explain by assuming two different eras, the Vikrama era for 15 and that of the Patika plate for 86. We would thus get B.C. 41 and 32 respectively, and there would not be any difficulty.

It cannot be objected to my explanation that Patika did not rule or reside in Mathurā and that a Mathurā inscription could not, consequently, be dated in his era. For Patika had something to do with Mathurā. His father and evidently he himself were satraps of Cukhsa, and Mathurā belonged to the Cukhsa satrapy [9]. The era used in the Patika plate evidently had its origin in the country of the Sakas and was not meant to be used in India.

In my paper about the Chārsadda Kharoṣṭhī inscription of the year 303, (cf. note 10) pp. 107 ff., I have stated that I accepted Lüders' suggestion that the Mathurā inscription No. 78 found in the same Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā and dated in the year 299 of an *unnamed* king should be referred to a Parthian era of 245 B.C., which Rapson maintained had existed, and also that I believed that Rapson was right in doing so. I further showed that the Chārsadda inscription of the year 303 mentions the same persons as the record of the year 299, and that their names show that they were evidently Parthians.

This Parthian era is then the oldest foreign era brought to India from abroad, and it is this very era which is used in the Buddhist image inscriptions from Loriyān Tangai, Hasht-nagar and Skārah Ḍherī and in some other Kharoṣṭhī records.

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9) See AO, XX, p. 110.

TRACES OF LARYNGEALS IN VEDIC SANSKRIT[1])

by

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1. Nearly seventy years ago Ferdinand de Saussure and Hermann Møller propounded the theory that the prim. Indo-European sound system had originally comprised some consonantal phonemes, which, however, were lost before the beginning of the historical period. Many years later Couvreur and Kurylowicz pointed out that such a consonant is actually preserved in Hittite, and a renewed study of Lycian by the Danish nestor of the Indo-European linguists, Holger Pedersen, revealed the existence of a similar representative of these IE. consonants in that language too [2]). In the other IE. languages they are no longer preserved as such and their existence in a prehistoric stage of these languages can only be inferred from indirect indications. Since the oldest Indo-Iranian dialects are especially instructive in this respect, a brief survey of the main Vedic phenomena connected with these phonemes may be of some use for students at large.

2. The IE. consonants referred to above were probably laryngeals and are generally denoted by that name. They are usually distinguished (in Europe at least) as *ḫ*$_1$, which is contracted with a preceding *e* to *ē* (cf. IE. **dheḫ*$_1$, Greek τίθημι), *ḫ*$_2$ which changes a preceding *e* to *a*, with which it was then contracted (under special conditions) to *ā* (cf. IE. **steḫ*$_2$-, Greek ἵστᾱμι), and *ḫ*$_3$, which yielded *ō* under the same conditions (cf. IE. **deḫ*$_3$-,

1) For technical reasons *y* and *w* stand for consonantal *i* and *u*, and *ḫ* for *ħ*. For the same reason I had to omit the diacritical mark for vocalic *ħ*.

2) For the literature on the subject see, *e.g.*, KURYLOWICZ, *Prace Filologiczne* 11 (1927), 201 f., Hans HENDRIKSEN, *Untersuchungen über die Bedeutung des Hethitischen für die Laryngaltheorie* (Copenhagen 1941), 3 n. 1, and W. COUVREUR, *L'Antiquité Classique* 12 (1943), 103 ff.; for the Lycian evidence see H. PEDERSEN, *Lykisch und Hittitisch* (Copenhagen 1945), 16 f. and *passim*. The scope of the present article excludes a critical discussion of J. A. KERNS and B. SCHWARTZ, *The laryngeal Hypothesis and Indo-Hittite, Indo-European Vocalism* (*JAOS*. 60, 1940, 181 ff.). Most of the recent American publications on laryngeals were not accessible to me (*e.g.*, E. H. STURTEVANT, *The Indo Hittite Laryngeals*, *W. D. Whitney Linguistic Series*, 1942; B. SCHWARTZ. *The Root and its Modifications in primitive Indo-European*, *Language* 23, nr. 1, suppl. 1947).

Greek δίδωμι). It has been argued, it is true, that the assumption of a third laryngeal is unnecessary since *ō* may as well be explained as the *o*-grade of *e*ḫ$_1$ and *e*ḫ$_2$ (*e.g.*, Greek δίδωμι from **do*ḫ$_2$-) [3]. The existence of IE. ḫ$_3$ is however in my opinion firmly established by some interesting umlaut-phenomena in Greek. While IE. *ṛ* and *ḷ* are represented in Greek by αρ, αλ (ρα, λα), we find throughout ορ, ολ when the liquid was followed or preceded by ḫ$_3$; cf. ἔμολον (: βλώσκω), ἔθορον (: θρώσκω), ἔπορον (: πέπρωται). As Kurylowicz has pointed out, the Vedic reduplicated present *íyarti*, Med. *īr-te*, can only be explained on the assumption of a root *ḫ*er* (viz. *ḫ*i*-ḫ*ér-ti*, *Med.* *ḫ*i*-ḫ*r-taí*). Now Greek ὄρσο, ὄρμενος (ḫ*ṛ*-) and the infixed present of the lengthened root *ḫ*er-eu-* shows this initial consonant to have been ḫ$_3$: cf. Greek ὄρνυμι : Ved. *ṛṇómi* [4]). Note also the Greek perfects ὄρωρα, ὄδωδα, ὄπωπα, ὄλωλα, ὀμώμο-κα (as against ἔδηδα, ἄρηρα from *ḫ$_1$*ed*, *ḫ$_2$*er*-), which lead us to assume the roots *ḫ$_3$*er*-, *ḫ$_3$*ed*-, *ḫ$_3$*ek*^{u}-, *ḫ$_3$*el*- (Hitt. ḫ*ullā*-) [5]), etc.

3. The general character of the laryngeals, as shown by the part which they take in the structure of the syllable, leads us to class them with the so-called "sonants" (continuatives) *r, l, m, n, y, w*. Like these, they can serve as a consonant, as the second part of falling diphthongs (**e*ḫ$_1$, **e*ḫ$_2$, **e*ḫ$_3$, which later became *ē, ā, ō* before consonants), and as vowels, *e.g.* **p*ḫ$_2$*tér*-, Skr. *pitár*-, Greek πατέρ-, Engl. *father*). Their vocalic function is, it seems, confined to the position between consonants. In one respect, however, the laryngeals differ from the other continuatives: while the vocalic or consonantal function of the latter is exclusively conditioned by the syllabic structure of the word (*r, l, w*, etc. automatically becoming vowels when standing between consonants), the laryngeals show a marked contrast in that they can have, in this position, a vocalic as well as a consonantal function. The inflexion of *pita* "father" in Younger Avestan shows that only in the so-called "strong cases" (*e.g.*, nom. acc. sing., nom. plur.) the laryngeal is represented by the vowel *i*, whereas the weak cases and derivatives point to a stem **phtr*- [6]); here, accordingly, the laryngeal must have been a consonant. It follows that the vocalic laryngeal represents a reduced vowel grade while the consonantal ḫ stood in syllables with weakest grade of vocalism [7]). In this article, however,

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3) See H. PEDERSEN, *La cinquième déclinaison latine* (Copenhagen 1926), 20 f., *Hittitisch und die anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen* (Copenhagen 1938), 180 f., 183.

4) Note also Greek ὄρος "mountain" (: Ved. *ṛṣvá-* "high"), which must have *e*-grade of vocalism (IE. *ḫ$_3$*érs-os*, cf. βένθος : βαθύς). There remain some exceptions, which cannot be explained as yet, viz. ἔρνος and, in Hesychius, ἔρσεο, ἔρσῃ, ἔρετο. Greek στόρνυμι (: Ved. *stṛṇómi*, IE. **stṛ n-éu-mi*) must have been remodelled after ἐστόρεσα, etc (**sterḫ*$_3$-, cf. ἔστρωται), just as θόρνυμαι (Herodotus and late authors) is a new formation based on the aorist ἔθορον.

5) COUVREUR, op. c. 108.

6) See my "*Notes on Vedic Noun-Inflexion*" (*Mededeelingen der Nederl. Akademie van Wetenschappen*, afd. Letterk., N.R. vol. 5, part 4, 1942), 21 ff.

7) Similarly PEDERSEN, *Hittitisch* 185 (cf. also *Vergl. Gramm. der keltischen Sprachen* I, 1909, 179 f., discussed by PERSSON, *Beiträge zur idg. Wortforschung* 691).

we are not directly concerned with the IE. ablaut-system and we will confine ourselves to the various traces of consonantal and vocalic laryngeals in the Vedic language.

4. As early as the common Indo-Iranian period, the *vocalic* laryngeals coincided with *i* (from IE *i*) and ceased to be separate phonemes. This appears from the fact that *s* had become *š* after every *i*, irrespective of its origin; *e.g.*, Ved. *śiṣat*, Av. *sīšōiṯ* from *śās-* (IE. **kə̑s-* : **keə̑s-*).

5. In the common Indo-Iranian period the *consonantal* laryngeal was still extant in the position after a consonant and before a vowel. In an early stage of this period the IE. *o* had not yet coincided with *e* and *a* but was still a different phonemene (perhaps *å*), which in open syllables became *ā* (Brugmann's law). Cf., *e.g.*, *jā́nu*, *dā́ru*, *svásāram*, *tvā́t-pitāraḥ*: Greek γόνυ, δόρυ, ἔορα, ὀπάτορες [8]). When however the consonant after *o* (*å*) was followed by a laryngeal, the syllable was closed and *o* became a short *a*, *e.g.*, Ved. *jána-*: Greek γόνος (IE. **ĝónə̑₁-o-*), but *vāsá-* "dwelling" (IE. **ə̑₂wos-ó-*), and the causatives like *janáyati* (IE. **ĝonə̑₁-ey-eti*) as against *nāśáyati* (IE. **nok̑-ey-eti*) [9]). For the same reason the 1st sing. of the Vedic perfect is, *e.g.*, *cakára* "I have done" (IE. **kʷe-kʷór-ə̑₂e*, Greek -α), whereas the 3rd sing. has lengthened *ā*: *cakā́ra* (IE. **kʷe-kʷór-e*, Greek -ε). The *ā* in the 3rd sing. *jajā́na*, *dīdā́ya*, *nināya* is analogical (IE. **ĝe-ĝónə̑₁e*, **de-dóiə̑₂-e*, etc.) [10]).

The same difference is found in the passive aorist, cf. *ájani* "he was born" as against *ákāri*, *agāmi*, *átāpi*, *avāci*, *ávāri* [11]). Accordingly, these aorists must have had the vowel-grade *o*, which is rather rare in the normal verbal system. Thus the question arises whether these aorists may possibly be connected with the causatives, the final *-i* being from IE. *-i*,

8) Cf. WACKERNAGEL(-DEBRUNNER), *Altindische Grammatik* I, 13; III, 200 f., W. WÜST, *Indisch* 78.

9) See KURYLOWICZ, *Prace Filol.* 11, 206 ff. (abandoned in his later work *Études indo-européennes*, I, Cracow 1935).

10) See KURYLOWICZ, *Symbolae grammaticae in honorem Ioannis Rozwadowski* (Cracow 1927), I, 103.

11) See KURYLOWICZ, *Prace Filol.* 11, 209 (abandoned in *Études i.-e.* 38). DEBRUNNER's statement that the rule does not hold even for Vedic (*Indogerm. Forschungen* 52, 1934, 152 n. 2) disregards the fact that the few Rigvedic instances of *ā* in *seṭ*-roots are clearly analogical: *jāni* 8, 7, 36 (as against *ájani* 7, *jani* 1) is a hapax legomenon in a hymn which, according to ARNOLD, *Vedic Metre*, belongs to the latest („popular") period; the other Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas have throughout *ajani*; the other hapax legomenon *ástāri* 6, 63, 3b is an incidental formation parallel to *ákāri* in a; *atāri* 8 (also Brāhm.) follows the analogy of *átārīt*, *átārima*, etc.: of *avābi*, on the other hand, there is only one occurence in a khila (MACDONELL, *Ved. Gramm.* 368); it may be compared with Class. *agami* (RS. *agāmi*), *avaci*, *avādbi* (but Class. *avābi*!). Thus there remain only three instances of *tāri* (also Brāhm.). Since words that are frequently used in common speech preserve more faithfully anomalies than words of rarer occurrence, there can be no doubt as to the authenticity of *ájani*, though this is the sole Vedic instance of *a* in a *seṭ*-root. Old Persian *a k r i y*, *a b r i y*, etc. (DEBRUNNER 152 f., LOMMEL, *OLZ* 1934, 186) may represent *ya*-passives with active endings (*akariya*, *abariya*; thus R. G. KENT, *JAOS*. 62, 1942, 268 f., who refers to SCHAEDER, *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 15, 1936, 560-563). Note the plural *akariyanta* and the coordination of these forms with imperfects (L. H. GRAY, *JAOS*. 21, 1900, 128 n. 1). As for *ájñāyi*, *ádbāyi*, *ápāyi*, *dāyi*, etc., they are regular descendants from **dā-ə̑i* (IE. **dóə̑₃-i*) etc. Cf. *rayi-* from **raə̑-i-*.

the weak grade of *-ey-* (cf. *nāś-áy-ati*: *nāś-i-tá-*, Latin *mon-e(y)-o*: *mon-i-tus*, Goth. *nas-i-þs*, etc.). In many languages the passive is expressed by causative forms ("I cause you to love me" > "I am loved by you"), and in Esquimo, Uralian, and Manju the same formative serves to express both functions [12]). As an additional instance may be quoted the Munda dialect Santali, where the causative suffix *-oco-* "is frequently used to show the sufferer, the subject of the Passive, when in any statement there might be some doubt as to who is the actor and who the object of the action" [13]). It has often been suggested that the Indo-Iranian passive present in *-yatai* is connected with the causative in *-ayati*, although the vocalism of the root-syllable is quite different (*e.g.* Ved. *bhujyate*: *bhojayati*). However that may be, the passive aorist *ájani*, which has the same *o*-grade as *janáyati*, has a far more striking resemblance to the causative stem, and the supposition that **e-gonḫ₁-i* is genetically related to **ĝonḫ₁-ey-eti* seems wholly justified [14]).

6. In the same Indo-Iranian period the voiceless stops followed by a laryngeal developed to a group of new phonemes, viz. the aspirate mutes [15]), *e.g.*, Ved. *pṛth-ú-*, Av. *pərəθu-* from IE. **pḷtḫ₂-u-*, cf. the feminine *pṛthi-v-ī-*, Greek Πλαταιαί from *πλατα-ϝ-ιαί (IE. **pḷtḫ₂-w-iḫ)*. Similarly the combination of a voiced stop with one of the three laryngeals developed to a sonant aspirate [16]), *e.g.*, with *ḫ₁*: Ved. *sadhás-tha-* from IE. **sedḫ₁-es*, cf. **sēd-eḫ-₁* in Lat. *sēdēs*; with *ḫ₂*: Ved. gen. sing. *mah-áḥ* "great" from **megḫ₂-elos*, cf. neuter *máhi*: Greek μέγα; the aspirate in Ved. *duhitár-*, Gathic Avestan *dugdar-* "daughter" originates from the weak stem **dhugḫ₂-tér-* (cf. Greek θυγάτηρ); the root *ghā-* in *jighāti* (Suparṇādhyāya 29, 2), *jighyati*, *jighyatu* (Ait. Br.) is a variant of *gā-* "to go" [17]) and originates from the weak verbal forms; with *ḫ₃*: Ved. *ahám* "I" from **egḫ₃-ém* (Greek ἐγώ), cf. *tuám* from **tuḫ-ém*. Instances of such specific Indo-Iranian sonant aspirates are however excee-

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12) See H. SCHNORR VON CAROLSFELD, *Indogerm. Forsch.* 52 (1934), 28 f. (with references), J. L. PIERSON, *The Manyôśû*, Book VI (Leiden 1941), 264 f.

13) BODDING, *Materials for a Santali Grammar* I² (Dumka 1929), 183; *A Santali Grammar for Beginners* (Benagaria 1929), 54.

14) SCHNORR VON CAROLSFELD, p. 30, already suggested a connexion between these formations. As for the absence of a personal ending, cf. Ved. *áduha* (WACKERNAGEL, *Kuhn's Zeits.* 41, 311). Hitt. *eša* (PEDERSEN, *Hittitisch* 101); a similar limitation of the passive form to the 3rd pers. sing. occurs in Old Irish (THURNEYSEN, *Handbuch des Altirischen*, 325 f.). The theory that *-i* is the weak grade of Vedic *-e*, the ending of the 3rd pers. perf. med. (DELBRÜCK, *Altind. Verbum* 66, THUMB-HIRT, *Handb. des Skr.* 372 f.) does not account for the root-vocalism.

15) See *Recueil des publications scientifiques de Ferdinand de Saussure* (Geneva 1922), 603: a note dating from 1891. Cf. A. W. M. ODÉ, *Das schwache Präteritum in den germanischen Sprachen* (*Meded. Kon. Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterk., vol. 61, Series A. nr.6; 1926), 42 f., KURYLOWICZ, *Prace Filol.* 11, 202 ff. The latter assumes a different development for k_3 on account of Ved. *pibati* (Lat. *bibit*, Old Ir. *ibid*) from IE. **pi-pḫ₃-eti* (cf. Lat. *pōtum*, etc.). Cf. *Études indo-européennes*, 51.

16) CUNY, *Revue de phonétique* 2 (1912), 118 ff. (not accessible to me); KURYLOWICZ, *Études indo-européennes* 53.

17) See GARBE in Böhtlingk's *Sanskrit-Chrestomathie*, 3rd ed., p. 395.

dingly rare. In many cases the group sonant + laryngeal seems to have coincided, not with the inherited category of sonant aspirates, but with the non-aspirate sonants. For the aspirate mutes the conditions were considerably different as they constituted a fresh category: the few instances of aspiration in words "avec une valeur expressive et un caractère familier" [18]), as Skr. *pṛthuka-*, *nakhá-*, do not prove the existence of separate phonemes *ph, kh* in the prim. Indo-European κοινή.

7. After the splitting up of prim. Indo-Iranian into the Iranian and the Indian branch, the consonant, which by that time represented the three laryngeals, still continued to be pronounced during a certain lapse of time in the position between consonant and vowel. In Iranian it then vanished without leaving any trace, while in prehistoric Indian it had a vowel-colouring effect on weak vowels of the preceding syllable (Sanskrit laryngeal umlaut), *e.g.*, Ved. *śimī-*, *śimīvant-*, *śimyati* (cf. *śámī-*, the strong stem), *sina-* "supply" (cf. *san-*), *átīrṇa-* from **tirḫ-na-* with umlauted *ṛ* (IE. **tṛḫ-no-*). Vocalic *ṛ* is accordingly treated in the same way as the Proto-Indian weak vowels. The same parallelism is found in the case of labial consonants preceding *ṛ*: prim. Indo-Iranian **pṛḫ-na-* (Avestan *pərəna-*) became Proto-Indian **purḫ-na-* (Ved. *pūrṇá-*), just as **pₑnar* and **mₑni-* became *púnar* and *múni-* [19]). As the vocalic laryngeal had coincided with IE. *i* as early as the prim. Indo-Iranian period, this laryngeal umlaut, which is a characteristic development of Indian alone, can only be the effect of a following consonantal laryngeal. This must accordingly have been pronounced after the Old Indian had branched off from the common language, that is, after the separation of Indian and Iranian Aryans.

In the historical period the laryngeal was lost in this position, which necessarily led to the dissolution of some ancient paradigms where the laryngeal was vocalic in the nom. and acc. sing., but consonantal in the oblique cases, *e.g.* stem *āmúrḫ-* (cf. *āmarītár-*): acc. *āmúrim*, nom. acc. plur. *āmúraḥ*; cf. instr. *abhipramúrā*, the nom. of which must have been **abhipramúriḥ*; stem *goṣánḫ-*: acc. *goṣáṇim*, gen. *goṣáṇaḥ*. These Rigvedic forms are the last relics of an ancient Aryan inflexional type. As a matter of fact, a new nominative *goṣā́ḥ* seems to have arisen as early as the prim. Indo-Iranian period, cf. Av. *fšūšō*, gen. of **fšušā-*, and the gen. plur. *fraząm*. In India, however, the stem in *-sā́-* was only a dialectal (pre-eminently Rigvedic) variant of *-sáni-*, which it has never entirely supplanted. Although *goṣā́ḥ*, if really dating back to the prim. Indo-Iranian period, must have arisen at a time when the genitive was still pronounced **gauśanḫás*, the last form did not differ so much from *vṛtrahánam* as to exclude the influence of its nom. **vṛtrahā́ḥ* on the formation of the nom. *goṣā́ḥ* [20]).

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18) See MEILLET, *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Comptes rendus*, 1926, 44 ff., *Symbolae grammaticae in honorem Ioannis Rozwadowski* I (Cracow 1927) 105 ff., BSL 30, xvii.

19) See my note in *Acta Orientalia* 20, 29 ff. For a different explanation of *-ir-*, see KURYŁOWICZ, *Etudes i.-e.* 67.

20) See *Notes on Vedic Noun Inflexion* 85 f. (where the loss of *h* is wrongly attributed to the prim. I.-I. period).

8. In prim. Indo-Iranian the consonantal laryngeal(s) could also stand in the position between two other consonants, *e.g.* **pḫtr-ai*, the dat. sing. of *pitá* "father", where *pḫ-* underwent the regular change to aspirate mute (cf. Av. *fəδrōi*). In Iranian it preserved this consonantal nature until it finally vanished. In the Indian branch, however, it was, in this position, vocalized to *i* and thus coincided with the representative of the vocalic *ḫ*. The same is true of postconsonantal *ḫ* in final position. Cf. Ved. Skr. *drávinas-*: Av. *draonah-*, Ved. *támisrā-*: Av. *tąθra-*, Ved. *sthávira-*: Av. *staora-*; Ved. *mánāṁsi*: Av. *manā* (from **manāsḫ*), etc. Only the Iranian languages can teach us, whether Ved. *i* in this position represents a consonantal laryngeal or a vocalic one (as is the case in, *e.g.*, Ved. *táviṣī-*: Av. *twīšī-*; Ved. *pṛthivī-*: Av. *yəzivi* etc.) [21].

An exception, however, must be made for *ḫ* between dentals, as in *ātta-* "seized" (from **ā-dḫ-ta-*), *bhágatti-* "a gift of fortune" (from **bhága-dḫ-ti-*), which are derived from *dā-* (IE. **deḫ3-*) "to give". Thus in *dadh-máḥ* "we put", *dad-máḥ* "we give", only the nature of the surrounding consonants can account for the disappearance of *ḫ* in these words, as against its vocalization in *abravīt*: Av. *mraot* (root **mleuḫ-*, cf. *brū-máḥ*). Cf. also *jahyāt* (AS., etc.): *jáhāti* with, *e.g.*, *aśnīyāt*: *aśnāti*. Because the root-syllable in *jahyāt, dadmáḥ, bhágatti-*, etc. is preceded by reduplication or a noun, the disappearance of *ḫ* is generally ascribed to the so-called "compositional shortening". It is hard to believe, however, that we should have to assume two different grades of consonantal *ḫ* (which, as stated above, is the weakest grade of *-eḫ-*), one of which was vocalized in Proto-Indian, whereas the other was lost. Moreover, similar differences in the representation of *ḫ* are also found in cases where the possibility of compositional shortening is excluded, *e.g.* in the neighbourhood of nasals. Here it sometimes appears as *ī* (*e.g.* *vṛṇīmáhe*: Av. *fryąnmahi, hvąnmahi*), while elsewhere (as in the weak cases of many nouns in *-ḫman-*) it has been lost. These nouns will be examined more closely in the next paragraph.

9. The strong cases of the nouns in *-man-* comprise, besides the nominative and the accusative, also the locative of the singular [22]. Now Ved. *jániman-* (ṚS., AS.), a derivative from the IE. root **ĝenḫ1-* "to be born", occurs in the nom.-acc. sing. *jánimā* (5), the locative *jániman* (4), and the nom.-acc. plur. *jánimā* (11), *jánimāni* (9). Similarly the adjective *sújaniman-* occurs only in the nom. sing. *sújanimā* (3) and the nom plur. *sújanimānaḥ* (1). Of the variant *jánman-*, on the other hand, the following forms are attested: *jánma* (nom.-acc.) 9, *jánmanā* 5, *jánmane* 7, *jánmanaḥ* 4, *jánman(i)* 6, du. *jánmanī* 2, plur. *jánma* 3, *jánmāni* 3, *jánmasu* 1. Some scholars derive the latter stem from a different *aniṭ*-root **ĝen-*, which is hardly a satisfactory solution [23]. Obviously *jániman-* is the stem of the strong cases, to which its use is still strictly confined in the ṚS.; *jánman-*,

21. *Op. c.* 24 ff.

22) See WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER, *Altindische Grammatik* III, 267.

23) Thus PERSSON *Beiträge zur idg. Wortforschung* 682 ff. (who also refers to analogical explanations by HIRT and MEILLET), SPECHT, *Der Ursprung der Indogermanischen Deklination* (Göttingen 1944), 288.

on the other hand, which originally was the stem of the weak cases, has already extended its domain beyond the original limits. After the AS. it has entirely supplanted *jániman-* and remains the sole form in use.

Like *jániman-*, *váriman-*, m.n., or *várīman-* "width, extent" is only found in the oldest Vedic texts (ṚS., AS., VS.). It is used in the following cases: nom. *varimā́* 1, acc. *varimā́ṇam* (*pṛthivyā́ḥ*), 2, loc. *váriman* 4, *várīman* 1, instr. plur. *várīmabhiḥ* 4. Save for the last form, no weak cases occur. The choice between *váriman* and *várīman* is conditioned by the metre: while *váriman* always stands in the anapaest after the caesura of triṣṭubh and jagatī (*e.g.*, *várṣman tasthau várimann ā́ pṛthivyā́ḥ* 10, 28, 2), *várīman* has its permanent place in the trochaic cadence of a triṣṭubh (*e.g.*, *ákāri vām ándhaso várīman* 6, 63, 3), and *várīmabhiḥ* in the iambic cadence of jagatī or anuṣṭubh (*e.g.*, *práti gṛbhṇāti víśritā várīmabhiḥ* 1, 55, 2). *Várīman* is accordingly a mere rhythmical variant of *váriman*. Although the lengthening of *i* in Vedic poetry was no doubt founded on a real tendency of the common speech (cf. *gṛbhītá-*: Av. *gərəpta-*, *abravīt*: Av. *mraot̰*), the use which the ṛṣis make of it for metrical purposes was probably a peculiarity of the poetical diction. Thus the three agent nouns in *-ītár-*, viz. *āmarītár-*, *pratarītár-* and *prasavītár-* (as against *janitár-*, *jaritár-*, *avitár-*, *savitár-*, etc.) stand throughout in the anapaest after the caesura of triṣṭubh or jagatī, cf. 4, 53, 6a *bṛhátsumnaḥ | prasavītā́ nivéśano* with c: *sá no deváḥ | savitā́ śárma gachatu*. The fact that their use is limited to this place of the verse might, indeed, be taken as an indication that, for some reason or other, *ī* had in these words really become fixed by custom (as a matter of fact, variants of these words with *i* do not occur in the ṚS.). But then, the Padapāṭha and the Prātiśākhya do not recognize *prasavītár-* as the correct form and read *prasavitár-* instead. In any case the *i*, whether it had arisen from vocalic *ḫ*, as in *várīman-*, or from its consonantal variant, as in *gṛbhītá-* (Pali *gahita-*), was a vowel of unstable length.

Mahimán-, m. "greatness, majesty" differs from the preceding words in that it is here the strong stem which remains in use in the later stages of the language. Already in the Ṛksaṁhitā it mostly takes the place of the weak stem, which soon fell into disuse. *Mahimán-* occurs, not only in the nom. and acc., but also in the instr. (*mahinā́* 35, *mahimnā́* 3), the dative (*mahimné* 1), and the genitive (*mahimánaḥ* 2, *mahimnáḥ* 2). It has long been recognized that *mahinā́* stand for **mahimnā́*[24]), but the exact conditions under which *mn* was simplified to *m* or *n* have not yet been clearly stated. This simplification took place only when *mn* stood after another consonant so as to form a consonant cluster, cf. instr. *raśmā́* (6, 67, 1) from **raśmnā́*, stem **raśman-*; *drāghmā́* (10, 70, 4) from **drāghmnā́*, stem *drāghmán-*[25]). Thus the *n* in the instr. of *mahimán-* originates from *mahnā́* (34), the only case-form where the ancient weak stem of *mahimán-* is still preserved. When a new formation *mahinā́* arose (with *i* on the analogy of the other cases), the relation between *mahnā́* and *mahimā́* ceased to be clearly felt and the linguistic feeling referred *mahnā́* to a stem **mahan-*, as is shown

24) See WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER, *Altind. Gramm.* III, 268 (with lit.).

25) In younger texts *drāghimán-* (VS, Pāṇ.), with analogical *i*, see PERSSON, *Beiträge zur idg. Wortforschung* 695.

by the new instr. plur. *mahábhiḥ* (only 7, 37, 1). *Mahinā́* in its turn gave rise to further analogical formations, viz. *prathinā́* (1, 8, 5, Vāl. 8, 1) and *bhūnā́* (X[2]) [26]. In the latest period of the ṚS *mahinā́* was replaced by *mahimnā́* which follows the analogy of the other cases (I[1] VI[1] X[1], AS. 5). The locative *mahmáni* in AS. 10, 2, 6 (Paipp. *mahamani*), though perhaps pointing to a gen. **mahmánaḥ,* etc., does not allow any conclusion.

Our supposition that *i*, which reflects the old vocalic laryngeal, originally occurred only in the strong cases is further supported by the Rigvedic forms of *jarimán-*, m. "old age" (ṚS., AS., TS.), viz. *jarimā́* 6, *jarimā́ṇam* 1, *jarimā́ṇaḥ* 1 (only in the youngest maṇḍala one instance of a dat. *jarimṇé,* 10, 87, 21) and *harimán-*, m. "yellowness, a kind of disease" (*harimā́ṇam* 2). Instances of the corresponding weak stem are wanting. The same is true of *párīman-* "abundance", *sávīman-* "impulse,, direction", *stárīman-* "strewing", and *hávīman-*" invocation" which are exclusively used in the locative sing., viz. *párīmaṇi*, 1, *sávīmani* 5, *stárīmaṇi* 1 and *hávīmani* 3 at the end of a pāda of jagatī verses, and *hávīman* 2 in the triṣṭubh cadence. Only *dárīman* (see below) stands at a different place of the *pāda* (*dárīman durmatīnā́m* 1, 129, 8), and of *hávīman-* also an instr. plur. *hávīmabhiḥ* 4 occurs. The sole instance of a weak stem is the loc. *hómani* (< IE. **ĝheuḫ-men-*) in an anuṣṭubh-strophe (*śivó arkásya hómany* 8, 63, 4), which corresponds to *hávīman(i)* in the triṣṭubh and jagatī cadence. Apart from one or two occurences of *sávīman-* in later Vedic texts [27]), these words are no longer used in post-Rigvedic literature. They are accordingly fossilized relics, which the poetical tradition had preserved for this specific use at the end of a pāda. Since all the words concerned are derivatives from *seṭ*-roots, the few exceptions must be due to an analogical extension of this stereotyped use of *-īmani.* Thus *sárīmaṇi* in *vā́tasya sárgo abhavat sárīmaṇi* 3, 29, 11 "in the draught of the wind" may have been created on the analogy of *savitúḥ sávīmani* (7, 71, 2; 10, 36, 10; 64, 7) and similar expressions; *dhárīmaṇi* (1, 128, 1; 9, 86, 4) is a poetical variant of *dhármaṇi* 4, *dhárman* 5, and the hapax legomenon *dárīman* (as against *darmán-*, *darmá-*, *dartár-* "breaker, destroyer") must likewise be analogical. The roots are *dṛ-* (cf. *dṛtí-*), *sṛ-* (cf. *sárma-* 1, 80, 5) and *dhṛ-*. As regards *bhárīman-* "support, maintenance" beside *bhárman-* (also *vāja°*, *ariṣṭa°*, *pra°*, *jātū°*), comparative linguists usually derive it from **bherḫ-men-*, a hypothetical side-form of **bher-men-* (cf. the accent of Russ. *berém'a,* which reflects either **bherḫ-men-* or **bhĕr-men-*, as against Greek φέρμα) [28]). The two Vedic instances of *bhárīman-*, however, belong to the youngest parts of the ṚS (*bhárīmabhiḥ* 1, 22, 13 and 10, 64, 14), and the other derivatives point unanimously to an *aniṭ*-root *bhṛ-*, *e.g.* *bhartár-*, *bhártar-*. It is more likely, therefore, that *bhárīmabhiḥ* has been modelled after *várīmabhiḥ* and *hávīmabhiḥ* [29]).

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26) See WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER, l.c.

27) Cf. also *sarimán-*, *starimán-* in the Uṇādisūtra.

28) Cf., *e.g.*, MEILLET, *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes*, 5th ed., p. 236 (the later editions are not accessible to me), PERSSON, *op. c.* 642.

29) *Bhárīmabhiḥ* 1, 22, 13, and *várīmabhiḥ* 1, 12, 2, belong to the same group of hymns attributed to Medhātithi.

10. With the paradigmatical interchange of the stems *jániman-* and *jánman-* we may probably compare the Vedic *doublets vánitā* 3, 13, 3 and *vantā́raḥ* 3, 30, 18; 7, 8, 3. Renou's penetrating analysis of the Vedic nouns in *-tar-* [30]) has elucidated the fundamental difference between the barytone and oxytone nouns of this class. The general syntactical difference is found to exist also between *vánitā* and *vantā́raḥ* [31]). On the other hand, *vantár-* differs from the other oxytone nouns in *-tar-*, as *śamitár-*, *jaritár-*, *pavitár-*, *janitár-* (: *jánitar-*), in that it has lost the *i* which was inherent in the root (cf. *vātá-*, *vivāsati*, *vāvā́tar-*, *vasuváni-*). Since there are no indications to show that the difference between the two Vedic categories in *-tar-* dates back to prim. Indo-Iranian [32])—many barytone nouns in *-tar-*, indeed, do not differ at all from those in *-tár-* [33])—it may be suggested that *vánitar-*/*vantár-* originate in a Proto-Indian inflexion *vánitā*, *vánitāram*, *vantrā́*, etc.

This supposition is supported by similar facts in other noun-classes. Thus, among of the derivatives from *jan-* (IE. **ĝenḫ₁-*), we find beside the infinitive *jánitoḥ* a noun *jantú-*, m. "creature"; the verbal adjective, which is a thematic derivative from this stem, is both *jánitva-* and *jántva-* (*jántua-*). In spite of the specialized functions of the first two words, both represent the same formation (IE. **ĝénḫ₁tu-*). In the prehistoric inflexion of the stems in *-u-* both the root syllable and the formative were affected by the paradigmatical ablaut (cf. Ved. *dā́r-u*, gen. *dr-ó-ḥ*, etc.). Similarly the nom. **ĝénḫ₁tu-s* (with vocalic *ḫ*) must have been distinct from the gen. **ĝenḫ₁tóu-s* (with consonantal *ḫ*), whose stem survives in the oxytone noun *jantú-*. This weak stem is sometimes also used for the infinitive, cf. Ved. *prā́vantave* (with regularized accent) as against *vánitar-*, etc.

11. The question arises whether these Sanskrit instances of sporadic loss of consonantal *ḫ* between consonants allow us to formulate a rule. Kurylowicz lays special weight on the different treatment of *ḫ* in the perfect *dadimá* as against the present *dadmáḥ* and concludes that the first form derives from IE. **de-dḫ₃ₑ-mé*, whereas the second in his opinion represents **de-dₑḫ₃-mé(s)*. This assumption involves that not only *ḫ* itself but also the following weak vowel has been lost in Iranian (and some other IE. languages) in contradistinction to Sanskrit [34]). This point, however, though unlikely, does not directly concern our question as Avestan has no instances of the 1st pers. plur. perf. of *seṭ*-roots. But it should be pointed out that, as a result of the analogical extension of *i* to *aniṭ*-roots in Sanskrit, the ending *-imá* is so frequent in the corresponding Vedic forms as to make *dadimá* a very weak foundation on which to base a theory which traces *i* back to a prim. IE. original [35]).

The preceding paragraphs have made it clear, I think, that *dadmáḥ* cannot be separated

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30) See *BSL* 39 (1938), 103 ff.

31) Ibidem, p. 112 (*vánitā*) and p. 115 (*vantā́raḥ*).

32) Ibid. 125.

33) Ibid. 109.

34) *Études indo-européennes* I, 55 f.

35) See also Th. H. MAURER Jr., *Language* 23 (1947), 15, who criticizes the explanation proposed by KURYLOWICZ but maintains the traditional view that *dadmáḥ* is an analogical creation.

from the other cases, where consonantal *ḫ* has been lost in Sanskrit in the weak stems, whereas *i* in the corresponding strong stems represents the vocalic *ḫ* (*jánima*: *jánmanaḥ*, corresponding to Younger Avestan *pita*: *fəδrōi*). Such is mainly the case between dentals and nasals, viz.:

dental + *ḫ* + dental: *ấtta-*, *bhágatti-*, *dáttbá*, etc.
dental + *ḫ* + nasal: *dadmáḥ*, *dadhmáḥ*.
nasal + *ḫ* + dental: *jantú-*, *vantár-*.
nasal + *ḫ* + nasal: *jánman-*.

It remains doubtful whether we should add the sound-groups *h* + *ḫ* + nasal (*mahnā́*) and *h* + *ḫ* + *y* (*jahyāt*) as *mahnā* may represent Indo-Iranian **magh-* from IE. **megḫ₂-* (cf. Gathic Avestan *dugdar-* from **dhugḫ₂-tér-*), and *jahyāt*: *ásnīyāt* may be parallel to Ved. *pányas-*: *pánīyas-* and similar cases, where this interchange (-: *ī*) is determined by the following *y*. The same holds for *dadyāt* and *dadhyāt*.

In the other cases referred to, the loss of *ḫ* is apparently a specific Proto-Indian sound-development which is not rooted in the prim. IE. sound-system. The loss of *ḫ* between front consonants [36]) would be understandable if the Proto-Indian representative of *ḫ* was a laryngeal or guttural sound, but the circumstance that the vocalization of *ḫ* yields the front vowel *i* warns us against rash conclusions as to the phonetic value of Indo-Iranian *ḫ*.

12. In connexion with the preceding paragraphs a brief remark may be added about the group: "sonant" (continuative) + antevocalic *ḫ*. In this position the sonant may be a vowel as well as a consonant, *e.g.* *gurú-* "heavy" (IE. **gʷr̥ḫ-ú-*, cf. Lat. *grāv-is*): *ágru-* "unmarried" [37]), *gru-muṣṭi-* (IE. **gʷr̥ḫ-u-*). Thus the adjective derived from **preḫ₃* "to give" (Ved. *pūrdhi*, Greek ἔπορον, πέπρωται) [38]) is both *pápuri-* and *pápri-* "liberal, granting" (IE. **pe-pr̥ḫ₃-i* and **pe-prḫ₃-i-*). The forms attested are *pápuriḥ* 1, *pápurim* 2, neuter *pápuri* 1 on the one hand, and *pápriḥ* 2, *pápriṇā* 1 on the other, which allow no conclusion as to the original inflexion. Similar instances are *jajanúḥ* 8, 97, 10 as against *jajñúḥ* (*jajñuḥ*) 1, 159, 3; 6, 62, 4; 10, 28, 7, and *sasanúṣī-* Brāhm. (contrasting with Rigvedic *jagmúṣī-*, *ájaghnuṣī-* from *aniṭ*-roots); cf. also *bhiyás-* (*bhiyásam* 1, *bhiyásā* 11, *bhiyáse* 1) beside *bhyásam* (2, 28, 6; 9, 19, 6; the text has everywhere *bhiy-*), *ábhyasetām* 2, 12, 1. A more doubtful instance is Ved. *súar*, Av. *hvarə* (which may be a disyllable in Y. 32, 10, but is monosyllabic in Y. 50, 2) as against the genetive *xᵛə̄ng* in Avestan. Taken in themselves these forms suggest a prim. Indo-Iranian inflexion **súḫar*: **suḫ-an-s*, but in view of Greek (σ)ἀϝελ- and Gothic *saúil* (which point to a nom. **seḫ₂w-el*, rather than to **seuḫ₂-el*), Indo-Ir. **suḫar* may perhaps be a case of laryngeal metathesis. If so, the gen. *xᵛə̄ng* would represent IE **sḫw-en-s*.

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36) A different explanation is suggested by Hans HENDRIKSEN, *Untersuchungen über die Bedeutung...*, p. 11.

37) See, *e.g.*, BARTHOLOMAE, *Zum altiran. Wörterb.* 99.

38) See *Acta Orientalia* 16, 313 ff.

It is clear that these instances constitute a totally different problem, the laryngeal being only so far concerned with it as, though not strictly necessary, it is favourable to the use of vocalic sonants before it. The problem is however essentially one of the syllabic structure of the words concerned, and rhythmical tendencies are probably involved in it. As for *bhiyás-* and *bhyas-* (IE. **bhiḫ-es-*), they may be sandhi-doublets owing to the operation of Siever's law: as a matter of fact, *bhiyás-* stands in 11 instances after a long vowel or a consonant of the preceding word, and *bhyás-* is twice preceded by a short vowel (including *ábhyasetām*). Some of the few exceptions (*dāsāya bhiyásam* 10, 120, 2, *ákṛṇvata bhyásam* 1, 52, 9 and *apatasthúṣo bhyásam* 9, 19, 6) belong to the youngest parts of the ṚS. Chronological differences do not provide a satisfactory explanation of the remaining instances, although *jajanúḥ* belongs, according to Arnold, Vedic Metre, to the second period, and *jajñúḥ* stands in hymns of the fourth and the last of the five periods, which he distinguishes in the Rigvedic poetry. Ved. *ágru-*, *grumuṣṭi-* (Taitt. S.) and Tv. *xᵛəng* suggest the idea that the monosyllabic stem (with consonantal sonant) was preferred in composition and in the weak cases, but the evidence available does not support the conjecture that there may have been a regular paradigmatical interchange of disyllabic and monosyllabic stem-forms. Since a similar phenomenon is also met with in connexion with *aniṭ*-roots (*e.g.*, 1st sing. *á tatane* 7, 29, 3: 3rd sing. *vi tatne* 10, 130, 2), most of the examples quoted will be mere rhythmical variants.

13. When standing before a consonant the diphthongs *eḫ₁*, *eḫ₂*, *eḫ₃*, *iḫ* and *uḫ* must have been contracted to *ē*, *ā*, *ō*, *ī*, *ū* at a very early date. Probably primitive Indo-Iranian had inherited the long vowels from the IE. mothertongue. Between vowels, however, *ḫ* preserved its consonantal character. Thus, the syllabic trench in the superlative **préi|ḫ₂-isto-* precluded a contraction of *ḫ* with the preceding diphthong: the trisyllabic pronunciation of Ved. *préṣṭha-* "dearest" as **práy-iṣṭha-* still betrays the former occurrence of a consonantal laryn geal in this word. An exception must be made for *eḫi*, *eḫu*, which may have become *ēi*, *eu* as early as prim. Indo-European [39]). It follows that in word-final position *iḫ* and *uḫ* had two different sandhi-variants: before a word with initial consonant they became *ī* and *ū*, which are considered the regular endings. Before a following vowels these *ī* and *ū* are "shortened", *e.g.* 1, 40, 3 *práitu bráhmaṇas pátiḥ | prá devy ètu sūnṛtā*, where *devy ètu* must be read as *devī etu* (– ⏑ – ⏑)[40]). Since *devī* is from IE. **deiw-iḫ*, it is clear that the "shortened" form represents *devi|ḫetu*, the laryngeal forming part of the following syllable.

This enables us to account for the *pragṛhya*-quality of the locative endings of the Vedic

39) KURYLOWICZ, *Études i.-e.* 40.

40) See OLDENBERG, *Die Hymnen des Rigveda*, I (Metrische und textgeschichtliche Prolegomena), pp. 456 n., 469, MACDONELL, *Vedic Grammar* 65, n. 6, and, for the interpretation of the facts, KURYLOWICZ, *Études i.-e.* 28 f., 33 f., who refers to GAUTHIOT, *La fin du mot* 172. On the other hand, a vowel may be lengthened by a homosyllabic *h* of a following word, as in *sūndra-* (PER SLOMANN, see PEDERSEN, *La cinquième déclinaison latine*, p. 33, n. 1; KURYLOWICZ, *Rocznik Orjentalistyczny* 4, 212, n. 22).

noun-classes *vṛkī́-* and *tanū́-*, viz. *vṛkī́* and *tanū́*. There are three Rigvedic instances of such locatives in *-ī*, viz. *gaurī́* 9, 12, 3, *nadī́*, 1, 135, 9, and *sarasī́* 7, 103, 2. The Padapāṭha denotes them as *pragṛhya* (*nadī́ iti*, etc.) and *gaurī́* is actually treated as such in the text. Oldenberg questioned the correctness of this tradition [41]) but *védy asyām* 2, 3, 4 is no valid counter-instance as it stands for *védy(ām) asyām* [42]). No satisfactory explanation of the *pragṛhya* character of *-ī* has been given. Wackernagel's suggestion that it is analogical, owing to the formal identity of this ending with the dual ending *-ī* [43]), does not carry conviction. Now it has been pointed out that *vṛkī́ḥ*, gen. *vṛkíaḥ* represent an IE. inflexion **wḷkʷ-yēḫ-(s)*, gen. **wḷkʷ-iḫ-ós* [44]). Hence the locative *vṛkī́* stands for **vṛkiḫ-i* [45]), which was contracted to *vṛkī́* before a following consonant, but became **vṛkiḫy* > *vṛkīy* before a vowel. This is in full agreement with Oldenberg's observation (l.c.) that the essential characteristic of a *pragṛhya* vowel in Sanskrit is, not that it cannot be contracted with a following vowel, but that it does not suffer shortening in antevocalic position, *ródasī ubhé*, for instance, having been pronounced in his opinion as *ródasīy ubhé*. This is the very pronunciation which the explanation here proposed leads us to assume for *vṛkī́*.

The locative of the parallel inflexional type *tanū-* has two different forms in the ṚS., viz. *tanvì* and *tanū́*. Wackernagel and Debrunner consider *-ū* to be the original ending on account of its parallelism to *vṛkī́* [46]). The prim. Indo-European inflexion, however, must have been **ten-wēḫ-(s)*, gen. **tₑn-uḫ-ós*, loc. **tₑn-uḫ-i* (> Ved. *tanúi*) [47]). That *tanvì* is actually the older form is confirmed by the evidence of Avestan, where only *tanvi* is used. (No argument can however be drawn from the fact that, against 7 occurrences of *tanvì*, *tanū́* is only once found in the tenth maṇḍala since *camū́-* shows just the reverse ratio, *camū́* being met with 6 times against once instance of *camvì* in 10, 91, 15). *Tanū́* is accordingly a Vedic new formation. Oldenberg, in his note on 10, 183, 2, denies that this ending was *pragṛhya*. Since, however, *-ū* owes its origin to the ending *-ī* it must have shared with the latter all its characteristics. Hence it is likely that the statement of the Prātiśākhyas is correct in this respect too.

Like *ī* and *ū*, final *ā* is "shortened" before a vowel [48]). We may reasonably account for, *e.g.*, *áśva ā́gāḥ* in 10, 22, 5 *tvám tyā́ cid vā́tasyā́śvā́gā(ḥ)* in the same way as we did

41) *Prolegomena* 456 n.; similarly WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gramm.* I, 321, MACDONELL, *Ved. Gramm.* 66.

42) WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER, *op. c.* 155.

43) *Altind. Gramm.* I, 322.

44) PEDERSEN, *op. c.* (see n. 40), 38 ff., cf. *Notes on Vedic Noun-Inflexion* 12 f. The theory of KURYLOWICZ, *Études i.-e.* 154, fails to account for the facts.

45) LANMAN, *Noun-Inflection in the Veda* 389, and WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER, *op. c.* 170, held it to be a locative without a case-ending, whereas PISANI, *Grammatica dell' antico indiano* 332, explains it as a contraction of **vṛkī-i* (like KUHN, who derived it from **vṛkiy-i*, see WACKERN., *l.c.*).

46) *Op. c.* 188.

47) Quite phantastical is SPECHT's view that *ū-* is due to "symbolical lengthening" (*Der Urspr. der idg. Deklination* 382).

48) See OLDENBERG, *Prolegomena* 465-469.

above for *deví etu*, viz. by assuming a Proto-Indian sandhi-variant *áśvaḫ* in antevocalic position.

14. The treatment of postvocalic *ḫ* in pausa differs from the sandhi-variants discussed in the preceding paragraph. The instr. sing. of *śámī-* "endeavour, effort" is (apart from two instances of a new formation *śámiā*) either *śámī* or *śámi*, the first of which occurs only in the interior of the pāda (thrice, also conjectured for 10, 92, 12), whereas *śámi* stands at the end of a pāda (3, cf. also *suśámi* 1) and, in the interior of the *pāda*, before vowels (1, 87, 5 *śámy ṛkvāṇā*, 3, 55, 3 *śámy áchā*; Padap.: *śámi*) [49]). The "shortening" of *-ī* before vowels shows the ending to be *-iḫ*, which is either analogical (cf. *matī́*) or an early simplification of *śamiḫ-ḫ* (with the same case-ending as in Greek πω, πη- from **kᵘo-ḫ*, **kᵘeḫ₂-ḫ*, Ved. *matī́* from **mṇ-ti-ḫ*, Greek παρά, πεδά etc. [50]). It follows that in pausa *-iḫ* remained unchanged until the laryngeal (or whatever sound may have been its representative at that time) was dropped in the pronunciation.

The same explanation applies to the vocatives of the noun-classes *devī́-*, *vṛkī́-*, and *tanū́-*, e.g., Ved. *devi*, *Arāyi*, *Yami*, *vádhu*, etc. They have never been satisfactorily explained [51]). Kurylowicz holds them to be the last remnants of original stems in a short vowel (*deví-*, *vṛki-*, *tanú-*), but there can be no reasonable doubt as to the appurtenance of these noun-classes to the laryngeal-declension [52]). Now it is a well-known fact that in prose texts of the classical literature the vocative often (though far from consistently) remains unaffected by the rules of sandhi. Cf., e.g., Pañcat. (ed. Kielhorn) 1, 15, 17 *bhadra, aham*..., 1, 25, 14 *bhadra, evam etat*. 1, 86, 3 & 8 *bhadra, evaṁ kriyatām*, Mudrār. p. 116, 8 (ed. Telang²) *ārya, abhivādaye / Priyaṁvadaka, āsanam ānīyatām*, Mālavik. 37, 7 (2nd ed., Bomb. Skr. Ser. 1889) *tena hi, Maudgalya, evam eva* ... Gopālakelic. 55, 33 *katham anyāyyam, Jayanta, asmākam* ... (misunderstood by Caland), 114, 22 *adya, mātaḥ, Jayantena saha*..., etc. These texts reflect the usage of common speech, where the vocative was followed by a pause. The application of the sandhi rules to this case in metrical texts is due to an artificial extension of the grammatical theory. It is clear, accordingly, that the vocatives *devi*, *vṛki* and *tanu* are pause-forms of stems in *-iḫ* and *-uḫ* [53]).

There are in the ṚS some 100 instances of an instrumental sing. in *-ī* of femine stems in *-ti-*; "they stand frequently at the end of a pâda (cf. *ūtī́*, *matī́*)". In 24 additional cases the

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49) As for the inflexion of *śámī-*, see my note in *Acta Orientalia* 20, 31. The assumption of a different neuter noun *śámi* (ROTH, *Pet. Dict.*, Joh. SCHMIDT, *Pluralbildungen der idg. Neutra* 361, KURYLOWICZ, *op. c.* 196) has rightly been rejected by OLDENBERG, note on 8, 45, 27. OLDENBERG himself suggests to read *śamī* for *śámi* (2, 31, 6; but see also his note on 8, 45, 27), which is as unfounded as Grassmann's emendation *śámiā*.

50) Cf. BRUGMANN, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der idg. Sprachen*, 2nd ed., II, 2, pp. 188 f., 191, 194.

51) WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER, pp. 169, 170, 188.

52) See above, note 44.

53) Similarly the vocatives of stems in *-ā-* (Greek νύμφα, Old Church Slavonic *ženo*) probably reflect IE. *-aḫ* (*-eḫ₂*), rather than the anomalous weak grade *-ḫ₂* (as is the common view).

final is however *-i*: "this happens in all but three instances at the end of the pâda" [54]). Of the three exceptions *triviṣṭi* (4, 6, 4; 15, 2) stands in antevocalic position; the remaining instance is *nîtikti yó* (6, 4, 5) [55]). While Wackernagel ascribes *-ti* to compositional shortening [56]), without heeding the special conditions under which *-ti* occurs and the fact that many of the 105 instances of *-tī* are equally compounds, Oldenberg (l.c.) inclines (though somewhat diffidently) to regard *-tī* as the true ending ("die echte Gestalt") [57]) and *-ti* as a mere corruption of it. Evidently *práyukti*, *suvṛkti*, etc., are the pause-forms of instrumentals in *-i-ḫ* [58]). The text of the ṚS has however been normalized by later redactors as it reflects the original sandhi rule only in a limited number of words. Oldenberg (l.c.) rightly emphasizes the fact that every word concerned is attested with only one of the two endings. The procedure of the redactors has accordingly been the following: those instrumentals which occurred exclusively at the end of a pāda were left unchanged as anomalous archaisms; whenever a sandhi-variant in *-tī* was attested in the interior, this form (which was considered the grammatically correct one) was substituted for *-ti* at the end of the pāda (hence *ūtí*, *matí*, etc., referred to above).

In at least two-thirds of the Rigvedic gerunds in *-ya* and *-tya* the final *ā* is long [59]); at the end of a pāda, however, they always end in *-a*, which Wackernagel imputes to "redaktioneller Willkür" [60]). In this case it is the pause-form that has been generalized (since the AS.), which made it possible to distinguish these gerunds from the instrumentals of the nouns in *-i-* and *-ti-* (*e.g.*, *āgátya*: *āgatyā*). Although it seems doubtful whether this tendency alone is sufficient to account for the remarkable fact that the pause-form has superseded the ordinary sandhi-variant in *-ā*, the ending must in any case have been *-aḫ*, which fits in very well with the generally accepted view that these gerunds are ancient instrumentals of nouns in *-i-* and *-ti-*. [61]). Some scholars have objected that it is hard to conceive how an instrumental may have come to serve as a gerund [62]) but the corresponding Munda formations as Santali *seṇ-kate* "having gone", Ho *āgu-ked-te* "having brought", and Kurku *hādīr-en-ten* "having arrived" are also properly instrumentals. Both the Aryan and the Munda gerunds are, no doubt, imitations of the Dravidian "verbal participle". As a matter of fact, unlike the type

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54) LANMAN, *Noun-Inflection in the Veda* 380.

55) „Einzige, leicht aus Verwirrung erklärliche Ausnahme", OLDENBERG, *ZDMG.* 60, 154, n. 2.

56) *Altind. Gramm* I, 95; III, 146; diffidently BRUGMANN, *Grundriss* II, 2, 189.

57) Like most scholars, see the bibliography in WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER, p. 146.

58) *-ī* and *-ū* were the ancient Indo-Iranian endings of the instr. for all three genders, see WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER 146.

59) DELBRÜCK, *Das altindische Verbum* 229, MACDONELL, *Ved. Gramm.* 413.

60) *Altind. Gramm.* I, 311.

61) See, *e.g.*, WACKERNAGEL-DEBR. III, 34 f., RENOU, *BSL.* 23, 380 n. 2, 390 (otherwise BRUGMANN, *Grundr.* II, 2, 189); the noun character of the gerunds is still apparent in such compounds as *karṇagṛ́hya*, *pādagṛ́hya*, *punaḥkṛ́tya* (WACKERNAGEL, *Mélanges de Saussure* 127).

62) J. VON NEGELEIN, *Zur Sprachgeschichte des Veda, Das Verbalsystem des Atharva-Veda* (Berlin 1898), 92; HIRT, *Indogerm. Forschungen* 17, 45.

ānámam (which denotes synchronic actions and probably is of IE. origin [63]), the gerunds in *-tvā, -yā, -tyā* are new formations of Sanskrit, which have no counterpart in Iranian, and which only gradually have taken the place of the perfect participle, *e.g.*, ṚS 2, 12, 3 *yó hatvā́him áriṇāt saptá síndhūn*, 1, 103, 2 *vájreṇa hatvā́ nír apáḥ sasarja* beside 4, 18, 7 *vṛtrám jaghanvā́ṅ asṛjad ví síndhūn* [64]). While the use of a participle is the common mode of expression of the IE. languages (cf. aor. part. in Greek, perf. part. in Slavonic), the employment of indeclinable forms (as Tamil *ceytu* "having done") is characteristic of agglutinating languages like Dravidian. The occurrence of gerunds in the oldest Vedic texts, together with the new category of retroflex ("cerebral") phonemes and the development of *ḍ to ḷ*, points at the conclusion that the aboriginal languages had begun to exert their powerful influence on Sanskrit as far back as the prehistoric period.

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63) Cf. WACKERNAGEL(-DEBRUNNER), *Das „Absolutivum" ἀγχίμολον, Museum Helveticum, I*, 226 ff.

64) In the classical language the gerund has supplanted the perfect participle, see RENOU, *Études de grammaire sanscrite* 17.

LA CRITIQUE D'AUTHENTICITÉ DANS LE BOUDDHISME

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Le Buddha n'a jamais promis à ses disciples une assistance éternelle. Il ne leur a pas dit qu'il ne les laisserait pas orphelins, ni qu'il serait avec eux jusqu'à la consomnation des siècles. Au contraire, peu de temps avant son Parinirvāṇa, il fit entendre à Ānanda qu'il n'y avait plus à compter sur lui: „C'est seulement lorsque le Tathāgata, cessant de considérer tout objet extérieur (*sabbanimittānaṃ amanasikārā*) et ayant détruit toute sensation séparée (*ekaccānaṃ vedanānaṃ nirodhā*), demeurera plongé dans une concentration de pensée sans objet (*animittaṃ cetosamādhiṃ upasampajja viharati*), c'est seulement alors que le corps du Tathāgata sera à l'aise" [1]). Dans un tel état, le maître ne pouvait plus rien pour ses disciples.

Le Buddha ne s'est pas davantage donné un successeur; il n'a pas constitué son Saṃgha en une église hiérarchisée, dépositaire de son enseignement et continuatrice de son oeuvre. Peu de temps après le Parinirvāṇa, Ānanda déclare au brāhmane Gopaka Moggallāna: „Il n'y a pas de bhikṣu spécial désigné par le révérend Gautama (*bhotā Gotamena ṭhapito*), ou choisi par le Saṃgha et désigné par les Anciens et les moines (*saṃghena sammato sambahulehi therehi bhikkhūhi ṭhapito*) pour être notre refuge après la disparition du Buddha, et auquel nous puissions recourir désormais" [2]). Cependant, continue Ānanda: „Nous ne sommes pas sans refuge (*paṭisaraṇa*); nous avons un refuge, nous avons la Loi (*dhamma*) pour refuge". Le disciple fait ici allusion à l'une des dernières paroles de son maître qui avait déclaré: „Désormais (après ma mort), soyez à vous-mêmes votre propre lampe et votre propre recours, ne cherchez pas d'autre recours; que la Loi soit votre lampe et votre recours, ne cherchez pas d'autre recours" [3]).

Aux origines, avant l'élaboration de la doctrine du Triple Corps (*trikāya*), le Buddha n'incarne pas la Loi qu'il a laissée en héritage: „Je n'ai pas créé la Loi des douze causes,

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1) Dīgha, II, p. 100; T 1, k. 2, p. 15 b.

2) Majjhima, III, p. 9; T 26, k. 36, p. 654 a-b.

3) Dīgha, II, p. 100, T 1, k. 2, p. 15 b; T 1451, k. 36, p. 387 b. — Voir encore Dīgha, III, p. 58, 77; Saṃyutta, V, p. 163; T 1, k. 6, p. 39 a; T 26, k. 15, p. 520 b.

déclare-t-il, et un autre ne l'a pas créée non plus" [4]). — „Que les Tathāgata existent ou n'existent point, cette *Nature de dharma* des Dharma, cette subsistance des Dharma demeure stable" [5]). La Loi est supérieure au Buddha; aussitôt après son illumination, Śākyamuni, retiré sous le banian du Chevrier, eut la réflexion suivante: „C'est un mal que de rester sans avoir personne à estimer ni respecter; quel est donc le religieux ou le brāhmane que je pourrais honorer, respecter et servir?" Ne trouvant personne qui lui fût supérieur, il eut alors l'inspiration suivante: „Si je m'attachais à la Loi que j'ai moi-même découverte (*dhammo mayā abhisambuddho*) pour l'honorer, la respecter et la servir?" [6]) Ainsi fut fait.

Telle est la Loi que le Buddha légua solennellement à ses disciples. Comme elle n'était consignée nulle part, l'héritage se bornait pratiquement au seul souvenir des prédications du Buddha. Les disciples eurent à déterminer eux-mêmes les sources du Dharma, à en établir l'authenticité et à en fournir l'interprétation correcte. L'heuristique et la critique externe du dharma par les anciens bouddhistes fera l'objet du présent article, la méthode exégétique étant réservée à une étude ultérieure.

I. *Les sources du Dharma.*

1. La source principale et incontestée est la parole même du Buddha (*buddhavacana*). Śākyamuni a prêché une Loi „bonne au commencement, au milieu et à la fin; le sens (*artha*) en est bon, la lettre (*vyañjana*) en est bonne; elle est homogène, complète, pure; la conduite brahmanique s'y révèle" [7]). Dans ses déclarations solennelles (*agraprajñapti*), le bouddhiste confesse que: „Parmi toutes les doctrines fabriquées ou non, la Loi de renoncement (prêchée par le Buddha) est la meilleure de toutes" [8]).

Sa véracité ne saurait être mise en doute car: „Durant l'intervalle qui va de la nuit où le Tathāgata a atteint l'illumination suprême jusqu'à la nuit où il est entré dans le Nirvāṇa sans reste, tout ce qu'il a dit, déclaré et enseigné, tout cela est vrai et non pas faux" [9]). Sa parole demeure éternellement: „Le ciel tombera avec le lune et les étoiles, la terre s'élèvera dans les cieux avec les montagnes et les forêts; les océans seront taris: mais les grands Sages

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4) Tsa a han, T 99, no. 299, k. 12, p. 85 b-c, reproduit dans Śāstra, T 1509, k. 2, p. 75 a; k. 32, p. 298a.

5) C'est la formule bien connue *Utpādād vā tathāgatānām anutpādād vā tathāgatānāṃ sthitaivaiyaṃ dharmāṇāṃ dharmatā dharmasthititā*: cf. Saṃyutta, II, p. 25; Aṅguttara, I, p. 286; Visuddhimagga, p. 518; Śālistambasūtra, éd. de La Vallée Poussin, p. 73; Pañcasāhasrikā, p. 198; Aṣṭasāhasrikā, p. 274; Laṅkāvatāra, p. 143; Kośavyākhyā, p. 293; Madh. vṛtti, p. 40; Pañjikā, p. 588; Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 14; Daśabhūmikā, p. 65.

6) Saṃyutta, I, p. 138-140; T 99, no 1188, k. 44, p. 321 c — 322 a. — Voir aussi une recension aberrante de ce sūtra dans Śāstra, T 1509, k. 10, p. 131 c.

7) Formule extrêmement répandue: Vin. I, p. 35, 242; Dīgha, I, p. 62; Majjhima, I, p. 179; Saṃyutta, V, p. 352; Aṅguttara, I, p. 180, etc.

8) Voir le texte complet des *agraprajñapti* dans Aṅguttara, II, p. 34; III, p. 35; Itivuttaka, p. 87; Divyāvadāna, p. 155; Av. śataka, I, p. 49-50; 329-330.

9) Dīgha, III, p. 135; Aṅguttara, II, p. 24; Itivuttaka, p. 121; Tchong a han, T 26, k. 34, p. 645 b 18; Śāstra, T 1509, k. 1, p. 59 c. — Sur les modifications que le Grand Véhicule a apporté à ce texte, voir Madh. vṛtti, p. 366, 539; Pañjikā, p. 419; Laṅkāvatāra, p. 142-143.

ne disent rien à faux" [10]). Véridique, la parole du Buddha est en outre empreinte de courtoisie: „Le Tathāgata ne prononce aucune parole qu'il sache être fausse (*abhūta*), incorrecte (*ataccha*), inutile (*anatthasaṃhita*) et, en même temps, désagréable (*appiya*) et déplaisante (*amanāpa*) pour autrui" [11]). La bonne parole (*subhāṣita*) du Buddha se signale par quatre caractères: „Elle est bien dite et non pas mal dite (*subhāsitañ ñeva bhāsati no dubbhāsitaṃ*); conforme au salut et non pas contraire au salut (*dhammañ ñeva bhāsati no adhammaṃ*); agréable et non pas désagréable (*piyañ ñeva bhāsati no appiyaṃ*); vraie et non pas fausse (*saccañ ñeva bhāsati no alikaṃ*)" [12]). Bref, on peut conclure avec Aśoka dans son édit de Bairāṭ: „Tout ce qu'a dit le bienheureux Buddha est bien dit" (*E kechi bhaṃte bhagavatā Budhena bhāsite sarve se subhāsite*) [13]).

2. Mais le Buddha ne fut pas seul à prêcher le Dharma; de son vivant déjà, il envoya des disciples en mission: *desetha bhikkhave dhammaṃ ādikalyāṇaṃ*, etc. (Vin. I, p. 21, S. I, p. 105; Iv., p. 111). A l'exemple du maître, les grands disciples furent d'ardents prédicateurs (D. II, p. 104, 106; III, p. 125; S. V, p. 261; A. IV, p. 310; Ud. p. 63), et les textes mentionnent le talent et l'activité missionnaire de Sāriputra (S. I p. 190; III, p. 112; V, p. 162), d'Udāyi (Vin. IV, p. 20-21; S. IV, p. 121; A. III, p. 184), d'Abhibhūta (Th 1, v. 225), de Nārada (A. III, p. 58), d'Uttara (A. IV, p. 162), de Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra (S. III, p. 106), de Nandaka (M. III, p. 276), de la nonne Isidāsī (Th 2, v. 404) et même de Devadatta (Vin. II, p. 199; A. IV, p. 402) [14]). Après la mort du Buddha, les disciples devinrent les uniques porte-paroles de la Loi. Pour bien marquer qu'ils se bornent à transmettre l'enseignement du maître, sans rien ajouter d'eux-mêmes, ils font précéder leurs discours par la formule consacrée: *Evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye* „c'est ainsi que j'ai entendu en une circonstance". La formule indique que le contenu du sūtra remonte au Buddha lui-même, mais le Buddha, omniscient et qui n'a pas eu de maître, ne peut pas dire „J'ai entendu" car cela laisserait supposer qu'il ignorait la chose; ce sont les disciples qui disent: „J'ai entendu": par l'intermédiaire d'Ananda, le Buddha avait ordonné à ses disciples de placer cette formule au début des sūtra afin d'en souligner l'authenticité [15]).

3. Les bouddhistes aiment à croire que la Loi fut encore prêcher par des sages (*ṛṣi*), des dieux (*deva*) et des êtres apparitionnels (*upapāduka*). Parmi les sages de l'ancien temps, on peut citer Araka (A. IV, p. 136), et les disciples de buddha antérieurs comme Vidhura (M. I, p. 333) et Abhibhū (S. I, p. 155-156). Le dieu Śakra, lui-même disciple du Buddha, prétend annoncer la Loi telle qu'il l'a entendue et étudiée: *yathāsutaṃ yathāpariyattaṃ dhammaṃ desemi* (D. II, p. 284).

Le Dharma avait donc des sources diverses et qui tendaient, avec le temps, à se multiplier. Les Vinaya ont essayé de les dénombrer. Ceux des Mahāsāṃghika (T 1425, k. 13,

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10) Divyāvadāna, p. 268, 272. — Voir aussi T 310, k. 102, p. 574 a; T 190, k. 41, p. 843 b.

11) Majjhima, I, p. 395.

12) Suttanipāta, III, 3, p. 78.

13) HULTZSCH, CII, p. 173.

14) J'emprunte ces références au bel ouvrage de W. GEIGER, *Pāli Dhamma*, Munich, 1920, p. 40-41.

15) Ceci d'après le Śāstra, T 1509, k. 2, p. 67 a.

p. 336 a 21) et des Mūlasarvāstivādin (T 1442, k. 26, p. 771 b 22) n'en comptent encore que deux. Selon le premier: „La Loi, c'est ou bien ce que le Buddha a énoncé, ou bien ce qu'il a approuvé de son sceau. Ce que le Buddha a énoncé, c'est le Buddha lui-même qui l'a énoncé; ce que le Buddha a approuvé de son sceau, ce sont les disciples Śrāvaka et les autres hommes qui l'ont énoncé, et le Buddha l'a approuvé de son sceau". L'autre Vinaya se borne à dire que: „Le mot Dharma signifie la Loi qu'ont énoncée le Buddha et les Śrāvaka".

Le Vinaya pāli (IV, p. 15) et celui des Dharmagupta (T 1428, k. 11, p. 639 a 16) ajoutent deux sources nouvelles: „La Loi, disent-ils, c'est ce qui est énoncé par le Buddha, les Śrāvaka, les sages (*ṛṣi*) et les dieux (*deva*)". A cette liste, le Vinaya des Sarvāstivādin (T 1435, k. 9, p. 71 b 1-2), suivi par le Śāstra (T 1509, k. 2, p. 66 b), ajoute encore les êtres apparitionnels (*upapāduka*).

A passer par tant de bouches, la Bonne Loi courait les plus grands dangers. Il eût fallu, dès le début, l'enfermer dans un code d'écritures authentiques, reconnu indistinctement par tous les membres de la Communauté; mais les bouddhistes ne s'aperçurent que tardivement de la nécessité d'une codification du Dharma; la transmission orale de la doctrine rendait d'ailleurs un tel travail, sinon impossible, au moins très difficile.

Il se peut, comme le veulent le Śāstra (T 1509, k. 2, p. 70 a 20) et Paramārtha [16]), que, du vivant même du Buddha, Mahākātyāyana, l'apôtre de l'Avanti, ait composé une collection expliquée des Agama-sūtra du Buddha. Selon le Śāstra (k. 18, p. 192 b), le recueil contenait primitivement 3.200.000 mots; mais, après la mort du Buddha, la longévité humaine diminua, l'intelligence s'affaiblit, et les hommes furent incapables de le réciter au long; des saints qui avaient „trouvé le Chemin" composèrent alors un résumé en 384.000 mots. Cet abrégé est peut-être à la base du *Peṭakopadesa,* utilisé aujourd'hui encore dans l'Inde du sud. Mais cet ouvrage, de date incertaine et de canonicité douteuse [17]), ne fit guère autorité qu'à Ceylan.

Aussitôt après la mort du Buddha, des Anciens (*sthavira*), réunis en concile à Rājagṛha, „chantèrent la Loi (*dharma*) et la Discipline (*vinaya*)", mais nous ignorons tout des textes qui furent récités en cette circonstance. En effet, les relations traitant de ce concile proviennent de chroniqueurs qui appartenaient pour la plupart à des écoles bouddhiques constituées, ayant leurs écritures canoniques à elles. Chacun veut que les écritures de son école aient été compilées à Rājagṛha [18]). Par leurs témoignages discordants, ces anciens auteurs montrent qu'ils n'étaient pas mieux renseignés que nous sur l'activité littéraire du concile.

Une chose paraît certaine: les assises de Rājagṛha ne parvinrent pas à édifier un canon d'écritures universellement admis par le Saṃgha et fermé à tout nouvel apport de textes. Cinq cents bhikṣu, commandés par Purāṇa, n'avaient pas participé au concile; mis au courant des travaux effectués par des Pères, Purāṇa déclara: „Vénérables, la Loi et la Discipline

16) Voir P. Demiéville, *L'Origine des sectes bouddhiques,* MCB, I, p. 49-50.
17) Cf. E. Hardy, *Nettipakaraṇa,* p. VIII sq.; M. Bode, *Pāli Literature of Burma,* p. 5.
18) Voir J. Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rājagṛha,* Paris, 1926, p. 353-359.

ont été bien chantées par les Anciens; toutefois, je prétend garder la Loi dans ma mémoire telle que je l'ai entendue, telle que je l'ai recueillie de la bouche même du Bienheureux" [19]).

Bien après la mort du Buddha et les assises du concile, de nouveaux sūtra furent composés, qui jouirent d'une autorité égale à celle des anciens, et passèrent avec eux dans les recueils d'école. Citons, par exemple, le *Madhura-* (M. II, p. 83; T 99, k. 20, p. 142 a), le *Ghoṭamukha-* (M. II, p. 157) et le *Gopakamoggallāna-* (M. III, p. 7; T 26, k. 36, p.653 c), qui se situent eux-mêmes à une époque où le Buddha était déjà entré dans le Parinirvāṇa; le *Nārada-* (A. III, p. 57; T 125, k. 24, p. 679 a), composé sous le règne de Muṇḍa, petit-fils d'Ajātaśatru; l'*Assalāyana-*, dont les multiples recensions (M. II, p. 147; T 26, k. 37, p. 663 b; T 71, p. 876 b) mentionnent les Yona-Kamboja du royaume gréco-bactrien et les Yue-tche de la dynastie Kuṣāṇa.

Au point de vue linguistique, les anciens textes bouddhiques furent sans doute récités dans les dialectes moyen-indien du groupe oriental. En tout cas, les titres des ouvrages recommandés par Aśoka dans son édit de Bairāṭ sont en une māgadhī spéciale, plus avancée au point de vue phonétique que la māgadhī officielle des inscriptions d'Aśoka. De ces originaux magadhiens rien, pratiquement, ne nous est parvenu.

L'époque d'Aśoka marque le terme de ce qu'on peut appeler la littérature ancienne ou précanonique du bouddhisme. L'énorme extension prise par la Bonne Loi sous le règne du grand empereur, constituait un terrain propice à la formation des écoles et des sectes. Séparées dans l'espace, les communautés particulières s'affirmèrent de plus en plus: chacune d'elles tint à se constituer son recueil d'écritures. Ces canons distincts — qui nous sont parvenus complets ou incomplets, dans des textes originaux ou dans des traductions — dérivent tous d'un fond commun constitué par l'ancienne littérature bouddhique. Ils diffèrent par le contenu (insertion de textes nouveaux ou même de collections nouvelles [20]), la disposition des parties et la langue: pāli, sanskrit ou sanskrit mixte. Ces canons ne furent jamais clos si ce n'est par l'extinction même de la secte dont ils relevaient; en fait, au cours des temps, ils se grossirent sans cesse de compositions nouvelles. Dans le canon pāli, le Vinayapiṭaka contient un *Parivāra*, oeuvre tardive d'un moine singhalais; le *Suttapiṭaka* renferme une cinquième collection, le *Khuddakanikāya*, qui n'a pas son correspondant exact dans les recueils des autres écoles; son authenticité était discutée même parmi les singhalais car, au temps de Buddhaghosa (Ve siècle après J.-C.), le commentateur Sudinna thera, sous prétexte qu'il n'y a pas de Parole de Buddha qui ne soit mise en sūtra (*asuttanāmakaṃ Buddhavacanaṃ nāma n'atthīti*) rejetait la plupart des livres qui entrent dans sa composition [21]); aujourd'hui encore, les bouddhistes singhalais, birmans et siamois, discutent sur le contenu exact du Khuddakanikāya [22]). Les écritures des Sarvāstivādin sont particulièrement flottantes: le *Saṃyuktāgama* insère des chapitres entiers de la légende d'Aśoka (T 99,

19) Vin. pāli, II, p. 290; J. PRZYLUSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 159-161, 195-199.
20) Comme l'Abhidharmapiṭaka dans les sectes des Vibhajyavādin et des Sarvāstivādin.
21) Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, II, p. 566; Manorathapūraṇī, III, p. 159.
22) Cf. M WINTERNITZ, *History of Indian Literature*, II, Calcutta, 1933, p. 77, n. 3.

k. 25 sq.), et le Vin. des Mūlasarv. décrit en détail l'évangélisation du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde et va même jusqu'à mentionner Kaniṣka (T 1448, k. 9, p. 40 b—41 c).

L'ancienne littérature bouddhique fut complètement absorbée dans la masse mouvante des textes d'école. L'antique récitation qui, nous l'avons vu, n'était jamais parvenue à s'imposer à toute la communauté, a complètement disparu. Il y eut, selon l'expression consacrée, Mūlasaṃgītibhraṃśa „perte de la récitation primitive".

Ce fait, s'il faut en croire les docteurs, eut deux conséquences funestes. D'abord, il entraîna la disparition d'un grand nombre de sūtra (*bahulāni sūtrāṇy antarhitāni*): „Primitivement, dit la Vibhāṣā (T 1545, k. 16, p. 79 b), l'Ekottarikāgama énumérait les Dharma de 1 à 100; il s'arrête maintenant à 10; et, dans 1 à 10, beaucoup est perdu, peu reste ... Au nirvāṇa d'Ananda, 77.000 Avadāna et sūtra, 10.000 Abhidharmaśāstra furent perdus". Parmi les sūtra disparus, la même Vibhāṣā signale ceux qui énuméraient les six *hetu* (k. 16, p. 79 b), les vingt-huit *anuśaya* (k. 46, p. 236), les trente-sept *bodhipākṣika* (k. 96, p. 496 a). On trouve des remarques identiques dans l'Abhidharmakośa (II, p. 245 n.) et toute une série de textes réunis par l'historien tibétain Bu-ston [23]).

Une autre conséquence, plus grave encore, fut l'altération de la Bonne Loi et l'apparition de textes apocryphes (*adhyāropita, muktaka*). Déjà au concile de Pāṭaliputra, sous Aśoka, un certain Mahādeva prétendait incorporer aux trois Corbeilles les sūtra du Grand Véhicule, et cette exigence fut une des causes de la scission entre l'école des Doyens (*Sthāvirīya*) et celle de la Grande Assemblée (*Mahāsāṃghika*) [24]). „Après le Nirvāṇa du Buddha, dit la Vibhāṣā (T 1545, k. 185, p. 929 c), dans les Sūtra, on a placé de faux Sūtra; dans le Vinaya, on a placé de faux Vinaya; dans l'Abhidharma, on a placé de faux Vinaya". Et l'Abhidharmakośa (III, p. 40) de remarquer à son tour: „Qu'y pouvons nous faire? Le Maître est entré dans le Nirvāṇa, la Bonne Loi n'a plus de chef. Beaucoup de sectes se sont formées qui altèrent à leur fantaisie le sens et la lettre". Le Buddha avait prévu cette altération de la doctrine quand il annonçait: „Les sūtra promulgués par le Tathāgata (*tathāgata bhāsita*), profonds, de sens profond, supramondains (*lokuttara*), enseignant la vacuité (*suññatāpaṭisaṃyutta*), ils ne les écouteront pas avec foi, ils n'y prêteront pas l'oreille, ils ne les reconnaîtront pas comme vrais (*aññācittaṃ na upaṭṭhāpesanti*) ... Mais les sūtra faits par les poètes (*kavikata*), poétiques (*kāveyya*), de syllabes et de phonèmes artistiques, exotériques (*bāhiraka*), promulgués par les disciples (*sāvakabhāsita*), ils les croiront. ... C'est ainsi que les sūtra de la première catégorie disparaîtront" (S. II, p. 267; T 99, k. 47, p. 345 b).

II. *La critique d'authenticité.*

La multiplication des sources et leur progressive altération rendaient particulièrement

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23) Voir E. OBERMILLER, *Bu-ston History of Buddhism*, II, p. 169-171.

24) P. DEMIÉVILLE, *op. cit.*, p. 30. — Même remarque, dans le Dīpavaṃśa, V, v. 32-38, à propos de la Mahāsaṃgīti effectuée par les bhikṣu Mahāsāṃghika après le concile de Vaiśālī.

délicat l'exercice de la critique d'authenticité dont les règles — purement théoriques — sont exposées dans le *Mahāpadesasutta.*

Voici d'abord quelques références bibliographiques sur ce sūtra. Le texte pāli est dans Dīgha, II, p. 123, et Aṅguttara, II, p. 167. — Une courte adaptation sanskrite, dans Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra, éd. Lévi, p. 4; Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā, éd. L. de la Vallée Poussin, p. 431; Abhidharmakośa, IX, p. 252. — Plusieurs versions chinoses, dans le Tch'ang a han et les versions parallèles (T 1, k. 3, p. 17 c; T 5, k. 1, p. 167 a; T 6, k. 1, p. 182 c; T 7, k. 1, p. 195 c); Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 20, p. 652 b; Ken pen chouo ... tsa che, T 1451, k. 37, p. 389 b. — Références aux *mahāpadeśa* dans Sikṣāsamuccaya, p. 63, l. 18, et Bodhisattvabhūmi, p. 108, l. 25. — Commentaire du sutta par Buddhaghosa dans Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, II, p. 565-568, et Manorathapūraṇī, III, p. 158-160. — Traduction du sutta par T. W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha,* II, p. 133; R. O. Francke, *Dīghanikāya in Auswahl übersetzt,* p. 220; F. L. Woodward, *Gradual Sayings,* II, p. 175; L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Mahāpadeśa, Kalapadeśa,* Harvard Journal of As. Stud., III, 1938, p. 158.

Mahāpadeśa (à scinder en *mahā — apadeśa*) signifie littéralement „grand argument". Buddhaghosa (l.c.) a l'explication suivante: *Mahāpadese ti mahā-okāse mahā-apadese vā. Buddhādayo mahante mahante apadisitvā vuttāni mahākāraṇāni ti attho*: „Causes (ou autorités) alléguées en se référant au Buddha ou à d'autres grands personnages". — On trouve, dans les versions chinoises, les équivalents 大教法 *Ta Kiao-fa* „grandes règles d'enseignement", 大決定 *Ta Kiue-king* „grandes déterminations"; 大廣演之義 *Ta Kouang-yen tche yi* „grandes règles de propagation"; la version tibétaine de la Bodhisattvabhūmi a *Chen po bstan pa* „grandes instructions". Les traducteurs modernes rendent *mahāpadeśa* par „True authorities" ou „Great authorities" (Rhys Davids, Woodward), „Hinweis (auf eine Autorität)" (Francke), „Règles ou références" (de la Vallée Poussin).

Recension pālie des Mahāpadeśa. — Voici, en supprimant les répétitions inutiles, une traduction aussi littérale que possible du *Mahāpadesasutta* (Dīgha, II, p. 123; Aṅguttara, II, p. 167):

En certain cas, un bhikṣu pourrait dire: Vénérables, de la bouche du Bienheureux (*sammukhā bhagavato*) j'ai entendu (*sutaṃ*) et appris (*paṭiggahītaṃ*) moi-même ceci, et ceci est donc Dharma, Vinaya et Enseignement du maître (*satthu sāsanaṃ*).

Par ailleurs, un bhikṣu pourrait dire: En tel endroit, réside une Communauté (*saṃgha*) où il y a des Anciens (*saṭṭhera*) et des Chefs (*sapāmokkha*); de la bouche de cette Communauté, j'ai entendu et appris moi-même ceci, et ceci est donc Dharma, etc.

Par ailleurs, un bhikṣu pourrait dire: En tel endroit, résident de nombreux Anciens bhikṣu instruits (*bahussuta*), ayant reçu l'Écriture (*āgatāgama*), connaissant par cœur le Dharma (*dhammadhara*), le Vinaya (*vinayadhara*) et les sommaires (*mātikādhara*); de la bouche de ces Anciens, j'ai entendu et appris moi-même ceci, et ceci est donc Dharma, etc.

Par ailleurs, un bhikṣu pourrait dire: En tel endroit, réside un unique ancien bhikṣu, instruit, ayant reçu l'Écriture, connaissant par cœur le Dharma, le Vinaya et les Sommaires; de la bouche de cet Ancien, j'ai entendu et appris moi-même ceci, et ceci est donc Dharma, Vinaya et Enseignement du maître. —

Dans les quatre cas envisagés, le Buddha [25]) ordonne à ses moines d'appliquer la règle suivante: Le propos (*bhāsita*) de ce bhikṣu ne doit être ni approuvé (*abhinanditabba*) ni rejeté (*paṭikkositabba*). Sans les approuver ni les rejeter, ces mots et ces syllabes (*tāni pada-vyañjanāni*), ayant été compris avec soin (*sādhukaṃ uggahetvā*), doivent être confrontés avec le Sūtra (*sutte otāretabbāni*), comparés avec le Vinaya (*vinaye sandassetabbāni*). Si, confrontés avec le Sūtra, comparés avec le Vinaya, ils ne se trouvent pas dans les Sūtra (*na c'eva sutte otaranti*) et n'apparaissent pas dans le Vinaya (*na vinaye sandissanti*), alors il faut en arriver à la conclusion que voici: „Certainement, ceci n'est pas Parole du Bienheureux (*bhagavato vacanaṃ*) et a été mal compris (*duggahītaṃ*) par ce bhikṣu, cette Communauté, ces Anciens ou cet Ancien", et, par conséquent, vous rejeterez ce texte. Si les mots et les syllabes proposées ... se trouvent dans le Sūtra et apparaissent dans le Vinaya, il faut en arriver à la conclusion que voici: „Certainement, ceci est Parole du Bienheureux et a été bien compris (*suggahītaṃ*) par ce bhikṣu, cette Communauté, ces Anciens ou cet Ancien".

Recension sanskrite des Mahāpadeśa. — La formule sanskrite apparaît comme un développement de la formule pālie, car elle exige en outre que le texte proposé „ne contredise pas la nature des choses".

Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra, p. 4: *Buddhavacanasyedaṃ lakṣaṇaṃ yat sūtre 'vatarati vinaye saṃdṛśyate dharmatāṃ ca na vilomayati*: „Le signe caractéristique de la Parole du Buddha, c'est qu'elle se trouve dans le Sūtra, apparaisse dans le Vinaya et ne contredise pas la nature des choses".

Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā, p. 431: *Yad guruśiṣya paramparayamnāyāyātaṃ buddhava-canatvena yac ca sūtre 'vatarati vinaye saṃdṛśyate dharmatāṃ ca na vilomayati tad buddhava-canaṃ nānyat*: „Ce qui nous arrive comme Parole du Buddha traditionnellement par la succession des maîtres et des disciples, ce qui se trouve dans le Sūtra, apparaît dans le Vinaya, ne contredit pas la nature des choses, c'est Parole de Buddha et rien d'autre".

Cette conformité avec la nature des choses est aussi exigée par l'Abhidharmakośa, IX, p. 252, et un texte pāli post-canonique, le Nettipakaraṇa, p. 22.

Interprétation du sūtra. — Le *Mahāpadesasuttanta* comprend deux parties distinctes:

1. Le Buddha constate d'abord un usage établi chez les religieux: lorsqu'un bhikṣu voulait faire admettre un texte quelconque par la communauté des moines, il se réclamait d'une des quatre „Grandes autorités", de valeur inégale mais suffisante: l'autorité du Buddha, d'un Saṃgha déterminé, de plusieurs Anciens ne constituant pas un Saṃgha mais particulièrement instruits, d'un unique Ancien particulièrement instruit.

Il est essentiel de noter que le Buddha ne condamne pas cet usage; il se borne à constater que le seule référence aux Grandes autorités ne suffit pas à garantir l'authenticité d'un texte. Et ceci est bien dans la ligne de son caractère car, s'il a jugé indispensable de prêcher la Bonne Loi aux hommes, il n'a jamais demandé qu'on le croit sur parole. Après un sermon particulièrement important, il s'adresse à ses moines en ces termes: „Et maintenant, moines,

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25) On peut penser que le Buddha n'est ici qu'un prête-nom et que les règles de critique furent établies par des docteurs qui vécurent bien après lui.

que vous connaissez et pensez aussi, irez-vous dire: Nous honorons le Maître et, par respect pour le Maître, nous disons ceci ou cela?" — „Nous ne le ferons pas, Seigneur". — „Ce que vous affirmerez, ô moines, n'est-ce pas ce que vous avez vous-mêmes bien reconnu (*ñātaṃ*), vu (*diṭṭhaṃ*) et saisi (*viditaṃ*)?" — „C'est cela même, Seigneur" (M. I, p. 265; T 26, k. 54, p. 769b).

2. Dans cet esprit, et si solides que soient les autorités sur lesquelles un texte s'appuie, le Buddha demande à ses disciples d'examiner en outre s'il se trouve dans le Sūtra, apparaît dans le Vinaya et, selon la formule sanskrite, s'il ne contredit pas la nature des choses.

Comment interpréter cette exigence? S'agit-il simplement d'examiner si le texte proposé se trouve déjà consigné dans les Écritures? C'est ce que laisserait supposer la traduction de R. O. Francke, *l.c.* p. 220: „Vielmehr sollt ihr die (Behauptung des Bhikkhu) Wort für Wort und Silbe für Silbe euch wohl merken auf das Sutta (en note: oder ein Sutta) zurückzuführen und im Vinaya nachzuweisen (suchen)". Mais cette interprétation est inadmissible car, nous l'avons vu, les bouddhistes n'ont jamais possédé un corps d'écritures jouissant d'une autorité incontestée et pouvant servir de norme à toute la communauté. En eussent-ils possédé un, qu'ils auraient rejeté comme apocryphe tout texte nouveau, étranger à la compilation primitive.

Négligeant le commentaire de Buddhaghosa qui échafaude les hypothèses les plus fantaisistes [26]), nous chercherons à interpréter le sūtra à la lumière des traductions chinoises:

T 1, k. 3, p. 17 c: Si un bhikṣu fait cette parole: „Vénérables, moi, dans tel village, tel royaume, j'ai entendu et reçu l'enseignement que voici", vous ne devez ni croire ni rejeter ce qu'il vous dit. Il faut, sur les Sūtra, examiner le vrai et le faux; s'appuyant sur le Vinaya, s'appuyant sur le Dharma, examiner l'essentiel et l'accessoire (*pen mo*). Si le texte proposé (par le bhikṣu) n'est pas Sūtra, n'est pas Vinaya, n'est pas Dharma, il faut lui dire: „Le Buddha n'a pas dit cela, tu as mal saisi. Pourquoi? Je m'appuie sur le Sūtra, je m'appuie sur le Vinaya, je m'appuie sur le Dharma, et ce que tu viens de dire est en contradiction (*virodha*) avec le Dharma".

T 1451, k. 37, p. 389 b-c: Le Bhagavat dit à Ananda: C'est ainsi qu'on saura si un enseignement est vrai ou faux. A partir d'aujourd'hui, il faut vous appuyer sur l'enseignement des Sūtra et ne pas vous appuyer sur (l'autorité) d'un homme (*pudgala*). Comment s'appuyer sur l'enseignement et ne pas s'appuyer sur l'homme? Si un bhikṣu vient faire cette parole: „Vénérables, moi, j'ai entendu autrefois cette parole du Tathāgata et, l'ayant entendue, je l'ai retenue; je dis que ceci est la Loi des Sūtra; je dis que ceci est l'Enseignement du Vinaya et est vraiment Parole du Buddha". Lorsqu'un bhikṣu, ayant entendu cela, vous parle ainsi, il ne faut ni l'approuver ni le rebuter; il faut écouter son propos et en bien retenir

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26) Ainsi, selon Buddhaghosa (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, II. p. 565 sq.), dans la phrase *sutte otaranti Vinaye sandissanti*, *Sutta* désignerait le Suttavibhaṅga (1e partie du Vinayapiṭaka), et *Vinaya*, les Khandaka (2e partie du Vinayapiṭaka); — ou bien, *Sutta* désignerait le Suttapiṭaka, et *Vinaya*, le Vinayapiṭaka en entier; — ou encore, *Sutta* désignerait le Suttapiṭaka et le Vinayapiṭaka, tandis que *Vinaya* se rapporterait au Vinayapiṭaka; enfin, *Sutta* engloberait à lui seul toute la Parole du Buddha contenue dans le Tripiṭaka.

les syllabes et les phrases; il faut ensuite recourir au fond (住處), examiner la littérature des Sūtra et l'enseignement du Vinaya. Si ce qu'il a dit est en contradiction avec le Sūtra et le Vinaya, il faut lui dire: „Ce que tu as dit n'est pas Parole de Buddha; c'est quelque chose que tu as mal compris, cela ne s'appuie ni sur le Sūtra ni sur le Vinaya; il faut le rejeter".

Ainsi donc, pour que le texte proposé sur l'une des quatre Grandes autorités soit garanti, il n'est pas nécessaire que la lettre en soit reproduite dans les Écritures, il suffit que sa teneur générale soit en harmonie avec l'esprit des Sūtra, du Vinaya et de la doctrine bouddhique en général. Or l'esprit des Sūtra se trouve condensé dans le Sermon des quatre vérités saintes; les prescriptions du Vinaya visent essentiellement à l'apaisement des passions, et la pièce capitale de la philosophie bouddhique est la théorie de la Production en dépendance (*pratītyasamutpāda*) qu'Aśvajit a résumé pour Śāriputra en une stance célèbre, inlassablement reproduite sur les monuments bouddhiques: *Ye dharmā hetuprabhāvā,* etc. Le Nettipakaraṇa (p. 22) a parfaitement saisi l'esprit du Mahāpadesasutta, lorsqu'il remarque: „Avec quel Sūtra, faut-il confronter les textes? Avec les quatre vérités saintes. — A quel Vinaya faut-il les comparer? Au Vinaya (qui combat) l'amour (*rāga*), la haine (*dveṣa*) et l'erreur (*moha*). — Sur quelle doctrine faut-il les mesurer? Sur la doctrine de la Production en dépendance".

Tirant le meilleur parti possible des sources tardives dont ils disposaient, les bouddhistes se sont inspirés, en critique d'authenticité, de principes très sûrs, utilisant successivement des critères externes et internes. D'abord, ils s'efforcent d'éprouver la valeur extrinsèque des textes en en déterminant la provenance: le Buddha, un Saṃgha déterminé, un ou plusieurs Anciens particulièrement instruits. Ensuite, il passent à l'examen de leur valeur intrinsèque, et cherchent à se rendre compte si les textes proposés à leur approbation sont bien dans l'esprit de la doctrine, de la discipline et de la philosophie bouddhique.

MITHILĀ IN ANCIENT INDIA

by

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Mithilā was the capital of Videha [1], also called Tirabhukti (modern Tirhut). Krishṇa together with Bhīma and Arjuna visited it on his way from Indraprastha to Rājagriha [2]. Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, was a native of Videha who lived 30 years under the name of Videha. His mother was called Videhadattā [3]. Mithilā has been identified with the modern Janakapura, a small town within the Nepal border. The districts of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga meet to the north of it [4]. Beal quotes Vivian de St. Martin who connects the name of Chen-su-na with Janakapura (Mithilā) [5]. Videha is placed below the territory of Nepal in the Himalayan region. During the reign of Janaka, King of Videha, it took Viśvāmitra, the royal sage, together with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa four days to reach Mithilā from Ayodhyā. On the way they rested for one night at Viśālā [6].

According to Rhys Davids Mithilā was situated about 35 miles north-west from Vaiśālī [7]. It was 7 leagues and the kingdom of Videha 300 leagues in extent [8]. It was

1) *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, 254; cf. *Mahāvastu*, iii, p. 172 — "*Vaidehajanapade Mithilāyāṃ rājadhānyāṃ*"; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 424.

2) *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparva, p. 20.

3) *Jaina Sūtras*, S.B.E., Vol. XXII, Part I, pp. 256.

4) LAW, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 31; CUNNINGHAM, *Ancient Geography of India* (S. N. MAJUMDAR's Ed.), p. 718; CUNNINGHAM, *A.S.R.*, XVI, 34.

5) BEAL, *Records of the Western World* II, p. 78n.

6) *Rāmāyaṇa*, Vaṅgavāsī Edn., 1-3; Vide also *Rāmāyaṇa*, Griffith's Tr., Cantos LXVIII, LXIX, pp. 90-91.

7) *Buddhist India*, p. 26.

8) *Jātaka* (Fausböll) III, 365 -- *Tiyojanasatike*. *Cf. Ibid.*, IV, p. 316.

situated at a distance of 60 yojanas from Campā, the capital of Aṅga[9]). At the time of the Buddha Koṇāgamana Mithilā was the capital of the king Pabbata[10]). Tīrabhukti[11]) (modern Tirhut) was bounded by the river Kauśikī (Kosi) in the east, the Ganges in the south, the Sadānirā (the Gandak or the Rapti) in the west, and the Himalayas in the north[12]). According to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (I. iv. 1) Videha was so named after Māthava, the Videgha, who colonised it. According to Buddhaghosa[13]) Videha took its name from the early immigrants from Pubbavideha, the eastern sub-continent of Asia, placed to the east of Mount Sumeru (Sineru). This very region is called Bhadrāçvavarṣa in the Great Epic[14]). Although in all legendary explanations the word Videha signifies persons of very handsome appearance, it remains yet to be seen whether the Videgha of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Videha of later Indian works connoted originally the same meaning as Bhadrāśva (horses of noble breed) of the Mahābhārata.

According to the Ramāyaṇa[15]) Mithilā was the name of the capital as well as of the country itself. The famous Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang tells us that the name Videha is properly used to designate a particular district in India corresponding to the modern district of Tirhut in Behar[16]). The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* gives a fanciful account of the origin of the name of Mithilā. Vaśiṣṭha having performed the sacrifice of Indra proceeded to Mithilā to commence the sacrifice of King Nimi. On reaching there he found that the King had engaged Gautama to perform the sacrificial rites. Seeing the King asleep he cursed him thus "King Nimi will be bodiless (*Videha*, *Vi* = vigata, *deha* = body) inasmuch as he having rejected me has engaged Gautama." The King on awakening cursed Vaśiṣṭha saying that he too would perish as he had cursed a sleeping King. The sages (*ṛṣis*) churned the dead body of Nimi and as a result of the churning a child was born, afterwards known as Mithi[17]). After Mithi Mithilā was named[18]) and the Kings were called the Maithilas[19]). According to the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* Nimi's son Mithi founded the beautiful city of Mithilā. From the

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9) *Jātaka*, VI. p. 32; Cf. D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 50. Campā is here referred to as *Kālacampā*.

10) *Madhuratthavilāsinī* (Buddhavaṃsa Commentary), P.T.S., 260.

11) *Tīrabhukti* is derived from 'tīra' meaning 'bank', and 'bhukti', 'limit'. Cunningham is right in pointing out that the name seems rather to refer to lands lying along the banks of rivers than to the boundaries of a district and these lands may be identified with the Valleys of the Būr Gandak and Bāgmati rivers (A. CUNNINGHAM & GARRICK, *Report of Tours in North and South Behar in 1880-81*, Archæological Survey of India, pp. 1-2.

12) LAW, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, 30-31.

13) *Papañcasūdanī*, Sinhalese Ed., I, p. 484; *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* (Sinhalese Ed.), II, 482.

14) *Mahābhārata*, Bhismaparva, 6, 12, 13; 7, 13; 6.31; 7.13, 14.

15) Adikāṇḍa, XLIX, 9-16, cf. Sāntiparva of the *Mahābhārata*, CCCXXVII, 12233-8.

16) WATTERS' *On Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. [illegible]

17) From *mouth* to churn, pp. 383 ff.; Cf. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, ix, 24, 64.

18) *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 89, 6; *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, iii, 64, 6.

19) *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, iii, 64, 24; *Vāyu P.*, 89, 23; *Viṣṇu P.*, IV, 5, 14.

fact of his having founded the city he came to be known as Janaka [20]. According to the Mahāgovinda suttanta of the *Dīgha Nikāya* Videha was demarcated as a principality with Mithilā built by Govinda as its capital [21]. Mithilā had at each of its four gates a market town of *Yavamajjhaka* shape [22]), which occurs as a general name for four market towns forming the four suburbs distinguished as eastern, southern, western and northern. Videha contained 16000 villages, 16000 store houses and 16000 dancing girls [23]. The figure seems to be fanciful.

Mithilā had plenty of elephants, horses, chariots, oxen, sheep and all kind of wealth of this nature, together with gold, silver, gems, pearls, and other precious things [24]. This city was splendid, spacious, and well-designed by architects with walls, gates, and battlements, traversed by streets on every side, and adorned with beautiful tanks and gardens. It was a gay city, the far-famed capital of Videha. The Brahmins inhabiting this city dressed themselves in Kāśī cloth, perfumed with sandal and decked with gems. Its palaces and all their queens were decorated with stately robes and diadems [25]. It was a fertile city on the northern bank of the Ganges beneath the Himalaya's peaks of snow [26]. It was a peaceful city surrounded by long walls [27]. It has been described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* that Mithilā was a lovely and fair city. Nearby there was a wood which was old and deserted [28]. The city was well-guarded and sanctified by the religious sacrifice of Janaka, the great king of Videha. This beautiful city had well-laid roads. Its inhabitants were healthy, who used to take part in frequent festivities [29]. Mithilā was one of the nineteen cities ruled severally in succession by the various dynasties of princes of the solar race from Mahāsammata to Suddhodana, father of Gautama Buddha [30]. There was a caitya (shrine) at Mithilā named Lakṣmīhara, where the Mahāgiri teachers lived [31].

Polygamy appears to have been in vogue among the Videha kings. Brahmadatta, king of Benares, had a daughter named Sumedhā whom he declined to give in marriage to a Videha king who had a large number of wives, fearing that her co-wives would make her life miserable [32].

The great prosperity of the Videhans was due to trade with other countries, e.g., Benares. In Buddha's time Videha was a centre of trade. We are told of people coming from

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20) Begetter, creator (Nimeḥ putrasta tatraiva...... purijananasāmarthāt Janakaḥ sa ca Kīrtitaḥ). Cf. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, ix, 13, 13, where the story of the founding of Mithilā is also related.

21) II, PTS. Edn., p. 235

22) *Jātaka*, VI, p 330.

23) *Jātaka*, III, p. 365.

24) BEAL, *Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha*, p. 30.

25) *Jātaka* (Fausböll) VI, pp. 46 ff; Cf. *Mahābhārata*, iii, 206, 6-9.

26) *Rāmāyaṇa*, Griffiths' Tr., Canto XXXIII, p. 51.

27) *Ibid.*, Canto LXVI, p. 89.

28) *Ibid.*, Canto XLVIII, p. 68.

29) *Mahābhārata*, Vaṅgavāsī Ed., Vanaparva, 206, 6-9.

30) *Vamsatthappakāsinī*, I, p. 130 -- *Imāni ekūnavīsatinagarāni; tesu yathārahaṃ visuṃ visuṃ rajjam kamato anusāsisuṃ.*

31) B. C LAW, *Pañchālas and their Capital Ahichchhatra*, *MASI*, No. 67, p. 11.

32) *Jātaka*, (Fausböll) IV, pp. 316 ff.

Srāvastī (Sāvatthī), to Videha to sell their wares. A disciple of the Buddha who was an inhabitant of Srāvastī took cartloads of articles and went to Videha for trade. There he sold his articles and filled the carts with articles got in exchange and then left the place [33]).

The kings of Mithilā were men of high culture. Janaka was the great seer (*rājarṣi*) of the Brahmanic period. In the Buddhist age, Sumitra, king of Mithilā, devoted himself to the practice and study of the true law [34]). King Vedeha of Mithilā had four sages to instruct him in law [35]). The son of this king was educated at Taxila [36]). A young man named Piṅguttara living in Mithilā came to *Takṣaśilā* (Taxila) and studied under a famous teacher. He soon completed his education. Then after diligent study he proposed to take leave of his teacher and go back home. But in the teacher's family there was a custom that if there be any daughter ripe for marriage, she should be given to the eldest pupil. So the teacher said, "I shall give you my daughter and you shall take her with you" [37]).

There lived in Mithilā a Brahmin named Brahmāyu who was well versed in history (*itihāsa*), grammar (*vyākaraṇa*) and casuistry (*lokāyata*) and was endowed with all the marks of a great man [38]).

Janaka was not only a great king and a great sacrificer [39]), but also a great patron of culture and philosophy. His court was adorned with learned Brāhmaṇas from Kosala and Kuru-Pañcāla countries. Some of them may be mentioned, Aśvala, Jāratkārava, Artabhāga, Gārgī Vācaknavī, Uddālaka Aruṇi, Vidagdha--Sākalya and Kahoḍa Kauśītakeya.

Mithilā was one of the five *Gauḍas* or five Indies. The civilisation of Bengal—the new learning specially that of logic, which made the *Tols* (schools) of Nadia famous throughout India came from Mithilā, when Magadha had ceased to give light to eastern India [40]).

After the Muslim conquest of India the new school of Indian logic was founded at Mithilā by Gaṅgeśa and it was from Mithilā that this school found its place at Navadvīpa in Bengal. Vidyāpati, the celebrated Vaiṣṇava poet and singer, flourished as the precursor of the Vaiṣṇava poets and preachers in Bengal, Assam and Orissa.

Mithilā was hallowed by the advent of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism [41]). King Makhādeva (Maghādeva or Mahādeva) [42]) of Mithilā seeing a grey hair plucked from his head realised the impermanence of worldly things and thought that his days were numbered. He afterwards became a recluse and developed very high spiritual

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33) *Paramatthadīpanī on the Theragāthā* Sinhalese Ed., Pt. III, pp 277-8.

34) BEAL, *Romantic Legend of the Sākya Buddha*, p. 30.

35) *Jātaka* VI, p. 333.

36) *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XII, 1916 -- *Taxila as a seat of Learning in the Pali Literature.*

37) *Jātaka* (Fausböll), Vol. VI, pp. 347 ff.

38) *Mahāpuṇṇamasuttanta* — *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, 133-4.

39) *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra*, X. 3. 14.

40) V. A. SMITH, *Early History of India*, 4th Edn., p. 355 f.n. 2.

41) Jaina Sūtras, *SBE.*, XXII, pt. I, p. 256.

42) BARUA & SINHA, *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 79.

insight [43]). Sādhina, a righteous King of Mithilā, kept the five precepts and observed the fast-day vows [44]). Sumedhā, a childless widow of Suruci, King of Mithilā, prayed for a son. She took the eightfold Sabbath vows (*aṭṭhasīlāni*) and sat meditating upon the virtues. Sakka in the guise of a sage came to fulfil her desire. He was entreated by her to grant her the boon of a son. She was asked by him to sing her own praises in fifteen stanzas, which she did to his satisfaction. Afterwards she was blessed with a child [45]).

In the history of the Indian hermits the kingdom of Videha played an important part [46]). The Buddha stayed at Mithilā and preached there the *Makhādeva* and *Brahmāyu suttas* [47]). A *therī* named *Vāsiṭṭhī* first met the Buddha at Mithilā and entered the Order after listening to his instructions (*Theratherīgāthā*, P.T.S., pp. 136-137; *Psalms of the Sisters*, P.T.S., pp. 79 ff.).

The Buddha Koṇāgamana also preached at Mithilā and Padumuttara Buddha preached his sermons to his cousins in the park of Mithilā [48]). The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* points out that the Maithilas were generally skilled in the knowledge of *ātman* [49]). Brahmanism was prevalent in Videha in Buddha's time [50]). The Buddhist *Nikāyas* are silent as to Buddha's missionary work in Videha and Mithilā. Only in the *Majjhima Nikāya* we find that the Master stayed at Makhādeva's *ambavana* at Mithilā and converted Brahmāyu, a distinguished and old Brahmin teacher.

It is interesting to give an account of the kings of Mithilā. The most important of them was Janaka [51]), who performed his sacrifice at Mithilā [52]). Janaka's imperial sway was obeyed by the people of Mithilā. He was an old ally of Daśaratha, King of Ayodhyā. He was highly cultured and firm in his determination [53]).

In the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 17, 18-19; 219. 50) there is a saying attributed to Janaka of Mithilā: "Seeing his city burning in a fire the King of Mithilā sang thus: In this nothing

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43) *Jātaka*, (Fausböll), I, pp. 137-8.
44) *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 355 ff.
45) *Jātaka*, (Fausböll), IV, pp. 315 foll.
46) *Majjhima* N., II, pp. 74 foll.
47) *M. N.*, II, 74, 133.
48) *Mithiluyyānaṃ-Buddhavaṃsa-Commentary* (Sinhalese Ed), p. 159.
49) IX, 13, 27; cf. *Viṣṇu P.*, vi, 6, 7, 9; vii, 27 ff.
50) *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, pp. 74 ff. 133 ff.
51) In the Kālikāpurāṇa (Chaps. 37-41) Naraka the king eponymous of Kāmarūpa is connected with king Janaka Sīradhvaja of Videha the foster father of Sītā. He is represented as the younger brother of Sītā and the adopted son of Janaka. After Naraka excited jealousy in Janaka on account of his great intelligence and valour, his mother Bhūmi secretly sent him away. Thereafter Naraka defeated Ghaṭaka, the then Kirāta king of Kāmarūpa and made himself the master of the kingdom. He entered into a political alliance with Bāṇa, the king of Sunitapura (modern Tejpur). It is suggested by Mr. Mankad that Naraka was probably the same name as Janaka and he has proved on the evidence of the *Haragauri-saṃvāda* that some 24 or 25 kings of the Naraka dynasty reigned in Kāmarūpa in the Dvāpara Age. (*Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. X, Nos. 1 & 2, pp. 14 ff.).
52) *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, Chaps. 132, 134, etc.
53) *Rāmāyaṇa*, Canto XII. pp. 23 & 95, Griffith's Tr.

of mine is burning" ("*Mithilāyāṃ pradīptāyāṃ na me dahyati kiñcana*") [54]. In the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana sūtra* the saying is attributed to Nami [55].

Some princely suitors unable to win Janaka's daughter Sītā became angry [56]. To take revenge for breaking Siva's bow Paraśurāma arrived at Mithilā, insulted Rāma and demanded a conflict. When the exchange of insults was continuing, Vaśiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra, Satānada, Janaka and Daśaratha sought to avoid a struggle with him but in vain. Paraśurāma was afterwards defeated. He then saluted the victor with respect [57]. The victor also fell at his rival's feet and asked his blessings [58].

According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (1.71.3) the *ādipuruṣa* of the royal family of Mithilā was Nimi [59] whose son was Mithi and grandson Janaka I [60]. According to the same Epic Janaka II was the father of Sītā [61]. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad* speaks of the philosopher king Janaka of Mithilā whom Rhys Davids is inclined to identify with king Mahājanaka of the Mahājanaka Jātaka [62]. The Janakas of Mithilā and Brahmadattas of Benares represented two ancient lines of royal sages.

From Janaka the kings were also styled Janaka and this was the family name for he was the first king Janaka [63] and the Janakas are expressly mentioned as a family [64]. With Kriti ends the race of the Janakas [65]. From Ikṣvāku's son Nimi [66], who was given the epithet Videha by the Vāyu Purāṇa, sprang the dynasty that reigned in Videha. He dwelt in a town famous as Jayanta. According to traditions the royal power first developed mainly in the Gangetic plain, in the towns of Ayodhyā, Mithilā, Pratiṣṭhāna and Gayā, with an off-lying branch at Kuśasthalī on the western sea coast [67]. The royal family of Videha and Mithilā was a branch of the solar race [68].

King Aṅgati of Mithilā had three ministers to help him in his administration. On the Sabbath day the city of Mithilā and the palace were adorned like the city of gods [69]. In the *Sūryaprajñapti* Jiyasattu is mentioned as ruling over Mithilā, the capital of the Videha country [70]. This Jiyasattu was no other than king Prasenajit of Kośala [71]. Videha was

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54) Cf. Janaka's utterance in Mahājanaka Jātaka (*Jāt.*, VI, pp. 54-55).
"*Susukhaṃ vata jīvāma yesam no natthi kiñcanaṃ, raṭṭhe vilumpamānamhi na me kiñci ajīratha, susukhaṃ vata jīvāma yesam no natthi kiñcanaṃ Mithilāyaṃ dayhamānāya na me kiñci aḍayhatha.*"

55) *Jaina sūtras*, II., 37 (S.B.E., XLV).

56) *Rāmāyaṇa*, XXXIII, p. 89.

57) KEITH, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 189.

58) *Ibid.*, p. 245.

59) Jaina *Nami*, Pali *Nemi*.

60) *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bālakāṇḍa, 31 — Janaka, son of Mithi.

61) Sītā was also called Vaidehi (*Rāmāyaṇa*, Bālakāṇḍa, Bomb. Edn., Chap. 73).

62) *Jātaka* (Fausböll), vi. pp. 30 ff.

63) *Prathamo Janako rājā* — *Rāmāyaṇa* i, 71, 4.

64) *Janakānāṃ kule* — Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, 13. 11.

65) *Vamśo Janakānāṃ* — Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, iii, 64, 24; *Vāyu P.*, 89, 23.

66) *Vāyu and Viṣṇupurāṇas*, 88. 7-8; 89. 3-4; IV. 5. 1.

67) PARGITER, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 289.

68) *Garuḍa P.*, i, 139-1; Cf. *Dīpavaṃsa* (Oldenberg) Chap. III.

69) *Jātaka* (Fausböll), VI. pp. 220 ff.

70) *Bhagavati Sūtra*, p. 244

71) HOERNLE, *Uvāsagadasāo*, Tr. p. 6

ruled by Ceḍaga, Mahāvīra's maternal uncle. According to Jaina *Nirayāvaliya Sutta* Videha claimed Ceṭaka as its king [72]. Ceṭaka of Videha was an influential leader of the Licchavi confederacy. His daughter Cellanā or Vaidehī (Vedehī) was married to Sreṇika Bimbisāra of Magadha and became the mother of Kūṇika, i.e., Ajātaśatru. The Jātakas and the Jaina texts maintain a tradition of some ancient illustrious contemporary kings of India who adopted the life of a hermit. Nimi of Videha was one of them [73]. This king remembering his former births became an exalted Buddha. He retired from the world after placing his son on the throne. After leaving the city of Mithilā, his army, women, and retinue, he went to a lonely place. According to him men frequently apply punishment wrongly, the innocent are put in prison and the perpetrators of the crime are set at liberty. He who conquers himself obtains happiness. One should practise austerities [74]. King Māthava (Makhādeva) the founder of the royal dynasty of Videha also left the wordly life [75].

He lived for many years, during which he amused himself as a prince, then he was appointed a viceroy, and lastly he became the king [76]. According to the Mahāgovinda Suttanta of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, India was divided into seven political divisions. Videha was one of them. The Videhan clan had its seat at Mithilā which is recorded in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Purāṇas* to have originally a monarchical constitution [77]. The dynasty of the Maithilas flourished along with the rulers of Magadha as stated by the *Purāṇas*.

The Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā (Pallava 83, p. 9) of Kṣemendra refers to Mithilā which was ruled by a king named Puṣpadeva having two pious sons named Candra and Sūrya. The munificent king Vijitāvī of Mithilā was banished from his kingdom, who took up his abode in a leaf-hut near the Himalayas [78]. Some princes made Mithilā their resting place [79]. Mithilā was governed by the descendant of Nāgadeva, Ṣāgaradeva and Makhādeva [80].

According to the Vedic texts [81] there was a king named Namīsāpya but he is no where mentioned as the founder of the dynasty at Mithilā.

The *Mahābhārata* points out that Karṇa conquered Mithilā during his *digvijaya* [82]. King Sādhina of Mithilā lived in happiness for many years. He ruled this city righteously [83]. Six alms halls were built by him. Daily six hundred thousand pieces were spent in alms. During the reign of king Videha of Mithilā there was the cause of fear to the birds in the city [84].

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72) *Jaina Sūtras*, I, p. xiii.
73) *Jātaka* (Fausböll), Vol. III, p. 381; *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, xviii.
74) *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, IX.
75) *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, p. 74 ff.
76) *Jātaka* (Fausböll), I, p. 137.
77) RAY CHAUDHURI, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Ed. p. 101.
78) *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 41.
79) *Vamsatthappakāsini*, p. 125.
80) *ibid.* p. 129.
81) *Vedic Index*, I, 436.
82) Vanaparva, 254.
83) *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 355 ff.
84) *Jātaka* (Fausböll), II, p. 39.

There was a king named Mahājanaka reigning at Mithilā. He had two sons, the elder he made Viceroy and the younger, Commander-in-chief. After his death he was succeeded by his elder son and the younger was made the Viceroy. The law of primogeniture seems to have been in vogue in the city of Mithilā [85]).

After defeating the Kaivarta (Māhiṣya) usurper, Rāmapāla of the Palā dynasty conquered Mithilā. The killing of Bhīma and the conquest of Mithilā are recorded in the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva [86]). The details are supplied by the contemporary historical poem called *Rāmacaritam* [87]) by Sandhyākaranandın discovered in Nepal. During the reign of the powerful dynasty of Magadha, Tirhut formed a part of their dominions which extended from Benares to the mouth of the Ganges. But after the Senas of Bengal had taken possession of Varendra, and Magadha, a dynasty seems to have sprung up in Tirhut under the leadership of Nānadeva [88]).

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85) *Ibid.*, (Fausböll), VI, pp. 30 ff.

86) *Epigraphia Indica*, II, 355.

87) Ed. with Sanskrit commentaries and English translation by R. C. MAJUMDAR, R. G. BASAK, and N. BANERJEE, Kāvyatīrtha, and published by the Varendra Reseach Museum, Rajshahi.

88) A. CUNNINGHAM and GARRICK, *Report of Tours in North and South Behar in 1880-81*, Archaeological Survey of India, pp. 1-2.

TWO NOTES ON MATHURĀ SCULPTURE

by

JOHA E. VAN LOHUIZEN—DE LEEUW
Leyden

I. THE SQUATTING YAKṢAS AT MATHURĀ

The appearance of a special volume in honour of Professor Vogel furnishes a welcome opportunity to call attention to a few points supporting his views on the function of the squatting Yakṣa figures.

In the *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura* we find an interesting sculpture described by Vogel as follows (plate c): "Image (ht. 3'8" or 1 m. 115) of a crouching, corpulent male figure, presumably a Yaksha or goblin. His left knee is fastened to the body by means of a scarf. Round his neck is a wreath. Both the scarf and the wreath are also shown on the back of the image. From his left ear a heavy ear-ring hangs down. The broad flat face has a small moustache, a characteristic of demoniacal beings. The hair is arranged in short curls, turned alternately to the right and left. The arms are missing, but must have reached upwards, which indicates that the figure served the purpose of an Atlant. Crouching supporting figures are very common in the sculptures of Gandhāra" [1]).

The piece was found in the neighbourhood of Pālī-khēṛā. Vogel probably guessed that the sculpture served the purpose of an Atlant at the foot of a pillar or pilaster as he does in the case of C. 24.

In his extensive work about Mathurā: *La sculpture de Mathurā* we read about the same sculpture, following a description of the two so-called "Bacchic groups", which Vogel designates as "porteurs de vase":

„Il paraît vraisemblable que Mathurā nous a fourni encore d'autres exemples de ces porteurs de vase. La collection locale contient, parmi les pièces constituant le vieux fonds, une statuette curieuse de nain accroupi...... Les deux bras manquent, mais il est peu douteux qu'ils étaient levés en l'air et tenaient quelque objet placé sur la tête. Cet objet, croyons-nous, n'a pu être autre chose qu'un vase à aumônes...... Ajoutons que le musée de Mathurā possède

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1) *Catalogue*, p. 86, plate XIV. Mathurā Museum no. C. 3.

une réplique (le numéro C 7), dont la tête s'est perdue ainsi que les bras. Les deux statuettes sont en ronde-bosse." [2])

By way of illustrating his changed opinion as to the way in which the squatting Yakṣa figures are used, Professor Vogel points to the āyāgapaṭṭa's at Amarāvatī, where on both sides of the toraṇa's, we find dwarfs carrying on their heads a bowl in which the faithfuls deposit their offerings [3]).

To begin with we should like to add to the two fragments already discussed, besides no. C. 7 from the Museum, also nos. 24 and 25. For although we have unfortunately no photographs of these two pieces, the description in the catalogue leads us to conclude that they represent the same squatting Yakṣas as those mentioned above.

Vogel describes C. 24 as: "C. 24. Image (ht. 3'3" or 0 m. 99 including tenon) of a crouching dwarf, probably a Yakṣa, with large head and protruding belly. He is nude and wears a garland round his neck; the left [4]) is tied to the body by means of a scarf. The arms are broken, but were evidently stretched upwards. We may assume that the figure served the purpose of an Atlant and carried the shaft of a pillar on its head. It is similar to no. C. 3, but not so well preserved" [5]). This piece was also found in Pālī-khēṛā.

C. 25 is described as: "C. 25. Double figure (ht. 1'7" or 0 m. 482) of a Yaksha crouching and holding a cup in each hand. He has a disproportionately large head with moustache, a protruding belly and small legs. He is nude, but wears a garland round his neck and two bracelets on each arm. There is a tenon on the top of the head. Said to have been found in the river Jamnā near the Vināyak Ṭīlā." [6]).

The description of C. 25—the large head, the whiskers, protruding belly and small legs, nudity, garland around neck—and in conjunction with this the presence of the tenon proving that the figure originally carried something on its head, point to the conclusion that here too we are dealing with a figure analogous to C. 3 and C. 7. There is, however, one point of difference: The arms are not stretched upwards to support the vessel, but each hand holds a cup. This difference we welcome, as it furnishes us with the link connecting this with the other group of sculptures known as Bacchic scenes which also served as supports for a bowl or pot: First of all the Stacy Silenus, as it is called, at the Indian Museum, Calcutta [7]), the first archaeological find at Mathurā, discovered in 1836. (Early in the last century great interest was shown in it and it gave rise to all sorts of theories about Grecian colonies at Mathurā.) Three other specimens of the same kind were found in

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2) J. Ph. VOGEL, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, p. 55.

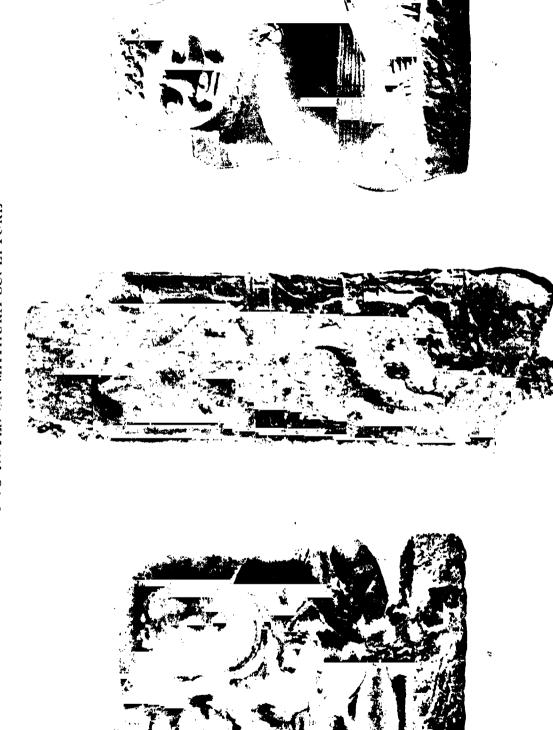
3) J. FERGUSSON, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. LXXV-LXXXI. J. BURGESS. *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, pl. XXXIII-XXXVII.

4) The word "leg" or "knee" has probably been omitted here.

5) *Cat.* p. 92.

6) *Cat.* p. 92.

7) This appears as plate XXXVII d and e as an illustration of an article by Ramaprasad CHANDA entitled *The Mathura School of Sculpture*, *A.S.I. Ann. Rep.* 1922-'23, p. 167.

TWO NOTES ON MATHURĀ SCULPTURE

a. SQUATTING YAKṢA, MATHURĀ (From: FOUCHER *L'Art gréco-bouddhique*)
b. PILLAR RELIEF FROM JAMĀLPUR SITE (*Courtesy Curator Curzon Museum, Muttra*)
c. SQUATTING YAKṢA, MATHURĀ (From: VOGEL, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā*)

d, e and f

g

d, *e* and *f*. STAMBHA RELIEFS, MATHURĀ MUSEUM, J. 13, 17 and 6
g. JATAKA RELIEF FROM CAṆḌI MENḌUT, JAVA

the neighbourhood of Mathurā namely a second fragment in Pālī-khēṛā [8]), a third at Naroli [9]) and, finally, a fourth a Maholi—found in 1938 [10]).

The first two greatly resemble each other both in conception and outer appearence, as for instance in regard to style of dress (suggestive of the Hellenic), while the last two form, stylistically speaking a separate group: not only is the subject identical even to the smallest details, but the dress is in both cases the current native one.

In almost all the so-called Bacchic scenes we find figures holding drinking-cups. Vogel's supposition that the squatting Yakṣas C. 3 and 7 fulfilled the same function as the Bacchic scenes seems to us corroborated by the fact that the squatting Yakṣa C. 25 (which we think should be classed with C. 24 in the group of C. 3 and 7) also holds a cup in each hand and for this reason shows a certain relationship with the Bacchic scenes as regards nature and outer form.

Unfortunately we have no picture of C. 25, which would perhaps have shown more points of resemblance with the Bacchic scenes. Of C. 4, the catalogue description of which at first sight does not suggest any great resemblances to the group of squatting Yakṣas, we have a picture [11]) however (plate a).

This picture shows us that the sculpture C. 4 supported a bowl. It constitutes still more clearly a transition phase between the group of squatting Yakṣas and the so-called Bacchic scenes. On the one hand the outer appearance of the chief figure corresponds in every possible way with that of the squatting Yakṣas, while on the other hand the entourage of serving-maids, who fill the cup held by the central figure from a pitcher, points to a close relation with the Bacchic scenes. Because the central figure, besides holding a cup in the right hand also has a nakula in the left hand, the Yakṣa is, as Vogel rightly supposed, identified as Kuvera, and hence we may conclude that the group of squatting Yakṣas (C. 3, 7, 24 and 25) is closely connected, both in nature and in style, with the other Yakṣa figures described in the catalogue under nos. C. 5, 9, 10, 11 and 31, which last Vogel was disposed to call Kuveras. Hence on the ground of this correspondence, we should be inclined to consider the group of squatting Yakṣas (C. 3, 7, 24 and 25) Kuveras too.

Furthermore, Foucher in his masterly treatise has pointed to a relation between the Bacchic scenes and the well known group from Gandhāra called: "couple tutélaire". This group also occurs in the art of Mathurā and is represented in the museum at Mathurā by Nos. C. 8, 12, 26, 27, 28, 29 and 30. This couple was revered not only by the Buddhists but also by the Jains, as appears from statue no. B 75 and the pratimā sarvatobhadrikā no. B. 65 [12])

8) Now in the Mathurā Museum No. C. 2, shown in the *Catalogue*, plate XIII.

9) Published by Ramaprasad CHANDA op. cit., p. 167 and pl. XXXVIII b.

10) Now in the Mathurā Museum, no. 2800; reproduced in V.S. AGRAWALA's *Handbook of the sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology*, Muttra, 1939. pl. XI, and the same author, *New Sculptures from Mathura*, *J.U.P.H.S.* vol. XI, part II, Dec. 1938, pp. 66-76, pl. III.

11) Reproduced by FOUCHER, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique*, Vol. II, fig. 490. FOUCHER describes the figure as Pāñcika-Mahākāla.

12) *Cat.*, p. 80 and 77.

in the Mathurā Museum, where we find the couple again under two of the four seats. A third example is the stele, pictured in Foucher's *L'Art gréco-bouddhique* on p. 549 in fig. 501, where we see the husband and wife under what appears to be a Jina-statue.

So we see that there are a large number of representations of the same deity, namely Kuvera [13]), differing as to time and place. In this connection it seems to us that the Bacchic scenes represent an earlier stage of development than the squatting Yakṣas. The former group must for stylistic reasons again be subdivided into two phases—an older one, consisting of the "Stacy Silenus" and the piece from Pālī-khēṛā; and a later one including the fragments from Naroli and Maholi. In the squatting Yakṣas (Kuveras) the foreign element has been thoroughly assimilated by a native already existing iconographic form. Still later developments of this are seen in fragments such as the relief shown by Vogel in „*La Sculpture de Mathurā*" on plate XLIV b [14]) and Foucher in *L'Art gréco-bouddhique*, Vol. II, fig. 499. We hope to return to the question of the dates of these different phases when occasion serves.

The fact that the central figure pictured in both Bacchic scenes—Kuvera—is closely related both in character and outer form to the squatting Yakṣas is not the only one that corroborates Vogel's later views as to the function of the latter. There are other points. He himself cited as an illustration of the use to which the squatting Yakṣas were put the āyāgapaṭṭas of Amarāvatī. But nearer home, in Mathurā itself, we find various reliefs on stambhas which illustrate the function ascribed to these figures. Two of these we reproduce here: On the first stambha [15]) (plate d) we see at the top two laymen, each with a large garland of flowers in his right hand. Below a man in typical Scythian dress. Of the latter the catalogue says: "holds in his right hand a bunch of flowers and a garland which he seems to have taken from a flat basket or dish carried on the head of a kneeling dwarf". In the first place that which seems to be a bunch of flowers is the end of a garland and, further, we think that the figure is not picking up the garland but on the contrary is depositing it as an offering on the bowl which a (stone) dwarf supports on its head. The other stambha (plate e) shows three reliefs one above the other [16]). Above perhaps a reliquary on a pedestal covered with a cloth; under this another layman putting his offering in a bowl carried by a (stone) dwarf, and finally a layman, holding a garland in his raised hand. Besides the Jātakas, reliefs of this sort illustrating the devotional life of the Buddhists were often used on the stambhas [17]).

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13) If this supposition is right we may perhaps suppose that the Kuveras C. 8 and 11, and perhaps also C. 31 held a lance in their upraised right and left hand respectively.

14) Mathurā Museum, no. C 5.

15) Mathurā Museum no. J. 13, *Catalogue*, p. 145.

16) Mathurā Museum no. J. 17, *Catalogue*, p. 146, says again that a person is taking something from a bowl and the lower figure is supposed to be carrying a cāmara. The outlines show, however, that the latter is also a garland of flowers.

17) A few more stambhas, namely J. 21 and possibly J. 48 in the Mathurā Museum (for the description of this Vogel refers to J. 18, but that must be a mistake as this stambha shows lotus-rosettes) and, further, in the

For the sake of completeness we may add that the bowl in which the floral offerings were placed did not necessarily rest on the head of a stone Yakṣa but sometimes stood on an altar-like raised platform. This is shown by the last stambha [18]) (plate f), where we see, between two devotional scenes, the upper one depicting the worship of a bodhi-tree and the lower that of the Buddha by a layman of high standing—possibly Indra, because of his high head-dress—, a scene picturing two laymen depositing garlands in a large begging bowl resting on a square pediment with a projecting moulding [19]). This last fact explains why Vogel was informed to his great disappointment that the large, stone begging-bowls [20]) did not fit on the heads of the squatting Yakṣas. "Est-il trop hasarder que de rapprocher les uns des autres? Cette question nous pourrions la résoudre définitivement, si seulement le vase à aumônes de Pāli Khērā s'adaptait sur le support aux scènes bachiques qui paraît provenir du même tertre. Malheureusement, on nous assure que cela n'est pas le cas" [21]). The bowls do not fit because they are too large for that, and besides the relief on the stambha shows us that the large bowls were placed on pediments.

II. THE SUṂSUMĀRA-JĀTAKA IN INDIAN ART

ne of the most important works written by Professor Vogel on the subject of Indian archeology is his *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura,* unfortunately long since out of print. The care with which the various exhibits in this collection have been described has made of this book a volume still indispensable for detail study of the Mathurā school of sculpture. In it the meaning of many of the sculptures have been clearly explained and the objects represented on the various reliefs not previously recognised have been identified. Yet there are a few pieces which, whether on account of damage done them or because they were worn, have not been explained.

One of these is no. J. 42 which is described in the Catalogue as follows:

"J. 42 Fragment (ht. 2'2" or 0 m. 66; section 8" by 4") of a railing pillar carved on two

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Museum at Lucknow nos. B. 13 (or H. 24) and 83 (the photographs of which are too poor to reproduce) show a layman who places a garland in a bowl on the head of the stone dwarf. Above and below the relief on B. 13 are panels showing respectively two laymen in adoration and one layman with a garland. The topmost relief presents a figure of the Buddha. In B. 83 we find above the panel in addition one relief with two laymen with floral offerings and one depicting a bodhi-tree. Our repeated efforts to get into touch with the museum in Lucknow in order to obtain permission to publish photographs have been fruitless.

18) Mathurā Museum, no. J. 6, see *Catalogue,* p. 143.

19) On a stambha in the Lucknow museum there is a pedestal for a begging-bowl which has lions paws. Probably Lucknow Museum no. B. 15 or H. 26.

20) The numbers in the Mathurā Museum are: no. Add. 97 and no. Add. 662. VOGEL, *La Sculpture de Mathurā,* plate XLVIII a and b.

21) VOGEL, *La Sculpture de Mathurā,* p. 54.

sides. On the obverse is the lower portion of a male figure, presumably a Bodhisattva, facing front. On the reverse are two panels, each representing a figure mounted on a fish or makara and enclosed between two Indo-Scythian pilasters which support a chaitya architrave. On each side is a mortice, 9" long, to receive a cross-bar. The pillar slopes at the bottom like nos. J. 8 and 9 which possibly indicates that it formed part of the balustrade of a staircaise. It was at the Allahabad Library till December 1907 and perhaps came from the Jamālpur site" [22]).

The back of the above described relief is shown in plate b.

The two reliefs, both depicting a figure sitting on a makara in water indicated by grooves resemble each other so strongly that they doubtless belong together.

On close examination the student will be immediately struck by the fact that in both cases the person depicted wears no single garment or ornament as far as the observer can see, and is therefore entirely naked. Further, as it seems to the present writer, the figure on the makara shows, in both cases, a tail extending up his back and ending in a plume of hair which turns downwards again.

Both the above facts suggest that we have here not a human being but an animal, which, on account of its strong resemblance to a man, is probably a monkey.

Once we have noted this it cannot be difficult to identify the two panels: we are obviously dealing with illustrations of a story in which the chief character is a monkey, who has proved one too many for his adversary, the makara.

As the relief may possibly have come from the hill at Jamālpur, where stood, in former times, the famous Buddhist monastery founded by the Emperor Huviṣka of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty, we will also give a short summary of the Buddhist version of the story as it has come down to us in the Suṃsumāra-Jātaka [23]).

Once the Bodhisattva incarnated as a monkey and lived on the banks of the Ganges. In the river lived a crocodile and his wife; one day the latter felt a great longing to eat the heart of the monkey and she commanded her husband to get her the heart as soon as possible [24]). Accordingly the crocodile went to the monkey and told him that on the opposite bank of the river there were much finer mango trees, and when the monkey asked how he could get there, offered to take him over on his back. The invitation was accepted, but halfway across the crocodile dived under water and his passenger, getting frightened, asked him what his real intention was. The crocodile confessed that his idea was to get hold of the heart of a monkey. "Too bad", his passenger remarked, "that I left mine hanging in the tree". The foolish crocodile then swam back to the shore and set the monkey on dry land again. The monkey, safe back up in his tree, jeered at the silly crocodile.

A concise version of exactly the same story is recounted in the Vānara-Jātaka [25]).

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22) Cat., p. 151 and plate XXIV, a.

23) No 208.

24) Penzer has made some interesting remarks on the dohada motif in his: "On the dohada, or craving of the pregnant woman, as a motif in Hindu fiction". Appendix III in TAWNEY's *The Ocean of Story*, Vol. I, p. 221.

25) No. 342

Further more, we find in the Vānarinda-Jātaka [26]) and the Kumbhīla-Jātaka [27]) another variant of the above story. Here the crocodile also wants to get hold of the monkey's heart. The monkey is in the habit of making a daily expedition to an island in the river to have a meal of fruit. He gets there by jumping on to a rock that lies in mid-stream and from there, taking a second jump to his destination. The crocodile noted this custom of his and one day, towards evening, lay down quietly on the rock and waited for the arrival of the monkey on his way back from the island. However when the monkey got to the bank of the river, he noticed that the rock seemed to show more above the water than usual and this made him suspect that the crocodile was laying a trap for him. To make sure whether this was so, he called out: "Hi there, rock! Hi! why don't you answer to-day, rock?" The stupid crocodile called back and confessed that he was lying in wait for the monkey [28]). "Well", replied the latter, "all I can do then is to accept my fate. Open your mouth and catch me as I jump". The crocodile did as he was told but closed his eyes as usual. The monkey, who knew this was his habit, then leapt on his head and thence to the river bank, so that for the second time he had got the better of his enemy.

Of both versions of the story of the clever monkey and the stupid crocodile there are two Jātakas. According to Penzer the Suṃsumāra Jātaka is certainly the oldest form. It is also clearly this version which is illustrated by the two Mathurā reliefs. At first sight there seems little difference between the two panels only the crocodile is swimming in opposite direction and on the upper panel the monkey bends forward much more, while his leg is bent back.

We have observed that when examining pillars at Mathurā on which more than one scene is depicted illustrating the same story, in most cases the upper panel should be taken first. At any rate one of the panels represents the beginning of the journey across the river and the other, the return to fetch the heart from the tree. Perhaps the upper panel depicts the moment when the monkey steps on or off the back of the crocodile. He seems to have put his foot on the ground. We do not, however, think it is possible to obtain certainty in his point.

The story of the clever monkey seems to have been extremely popular in the Buddhist world. Not only do we find it occurring four times in Pāli in the Jātaka collection and in the Cariyā Piṭaka [29]) of the Hīnayāna, but it also appears in Sanskrit in the Markaṭa-Jātaka in the Mahāvastu [30]), a work that on several points very nearly approaches the Mahāyāna. In view of this it is curious that, as far as we know, this story has never been found on the railings at Bhārhut or Sāñcī together with all the many other Jātakas there illustrated.

In his book on Bhārhut, Cunningham gives a sketch of a medallion which is very interesting in connection with our subject (figure). He describes the relief among the decora-

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26) No. 57 27) No. 224.

28) See for the "cave call" motif, as it is termed, M. BLOOMFIELD, *On Recurring Psychic Motifs in Hindu Fiction and the Laugh and Cry Motif*, J.A.O.S. 1917, vol. 36 pp. 54-89, spec. page 58 and 59.

29) Cariyā Piṭaka III, 7.

30) *Mahāvastu* II, p. 708 and ed. Senart Vol. II, pp. 246-250.

tive ornaments as follows: "The fish-tailed Elephant seen in fig. 2, Plate XXXVI, occurs amongst the Buddhist Sculptures of Buddha Gaya but of a later date. The Elephant is holding up a bunch of lotus flowers with his trunk [31])."

Barua says: "Here we see a goddess, evidently Gaṅgā Devatā, riding on the back of an elephant-faced makara on the surface of a river where a lotus-shrub lifts up its head above water. She is urging the makara to move fast with a goad held by her in her right hand. The makara swims by upraising its trunk. In the Machchhuddāna-Jātaka (F. 288), the goddess is represented as the presiding deity of the river and custodian of the fishes [32])."

Unfortunately the sketch is not very distinct. Nevertheless the resemblance between the medallion from Bhārhut and the reliefs from Mathurā is so striking that we must not ignore the possibility that the former also illustrates the Suṃsumāra-Jātaka. It is true that in the sketch the monkey is not shown with a tail, but quite likely this detail escaped the notice of Col. Cunningham when making the drawing, as it has so far escaped the notice of scholars in the case of the Mathurā reliefs. Any way there is nothing particular to suggest that the figure is that of a goddess, and considering the great popularity of the story of the clever monkey and the striking resemblance to the Mathurā reliefs, we feel justified in suggesting as the identification of the medallion the Suṃsumāra-Jātaka—perhaps adding a (?) by way of reservation.

Although the honour of having frequently immortalized animal fables in stone must be accorded Buddhism, yet these stories were not the private possession of Buddhist literature, for various versions of the tales are found in Brahmanical writings too. Both derived them from a common source older than either of them, from which the Bṛhatkathā and the Tantrākhyāyika seem to have drawn material too [33]).

The popular story of the clever monkey is also known in the non-Buddhist literature of India, as for instance in the Pañcatantra [34]) and the Kathāsaritsāgara [35]). Nor is this tale of the clever monkey omitted from the Sukasaptati, in which only 70 of the 550 odd Jātakas and some hundred fables known from the Kathāsaritsāgara appear [36]).

This would indicate that it must have been one of the most popular fables.

Besides in India it was well known in China, having been introduced into the former country by Buddhism [37]), after which China in her turn passed it on to Japan [38]). It appears in very early times in South Eastern Asia. We find it in Java during the Hindu Javanese

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31) A. CUNNINGHAM, *The Stūpa of Bhārhut: A Buddhist Monument ornamented with numerous Sculptures illustrative of Buddhist Legend and History in the Third Century B.C.* London, 1897, pl. XXXVI, fig. 2 en p. 117.

32) B. BARUA, *Barhut*, Calcutta 1934-1937, Vol. II, p. 73. Cunningham's sketch here appears in Vol. III, plate LXVI, fig. 77.

33) In the Tantrākhyāyika the story of the monkey is the framestory.

34) Book IV, 1. 35) X, 63, 97-124. 36) It is no. 67.

37) In S. BEAL, "*The story of the foolish dragon*" in *Romantic Legend of Sākya-Buddha from Chinese Sanskrit*, London. 1875, pp. 231-234.

38) W. E. GRIFFIS, *Japanese Fairy world*, p. 153, quoted by MORRIS in "*The Book of Birth-Stories*". *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 39, pp. 728-749 Spec. page 734.

period on the pediment of the caṇḍi Meṇḍut (plate g). The story has come down to the present day in the Indian Archipelago in the Tantri—a collection of tales belonging to the Pañcatantra-cycle. In Cambodia there exists also a modern variant [39]). But it travelled still further. It is also known among the Suaheli speaking peoples of East Africa [40]), and there shows characteristics suggesting the possibillity of very ancient relations, straight from India in that part of the world. Finally the adventure of the clever monkey reached Europe in the middle ages via Persia and Syria [41]) with the rest of the fable cycle, where these animal stories enjoyed a popularity almost equal to that which they had achieved in the Orient [42]).

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39) A. BASTIAN, *Die Voelker des Oestlichen Asien.* Vol. IV. *Reise durch Kambodja nach Cochinchina.* Jena, 1868, p. 338. In his edition of Tawney's work Penzer cites a Japanese variant in Bastians work on page 340, there is however no Japanese story to be found on that page.

40) E. STEERE, *Swahili Tales,* 1870, p. 1; G. FERRAND, *Contes Populaires Malagaches,* Paris, 1893, p. 77; R. O. FRANKE, *Eine indische Fabel bei den Suahelis, W.Z.K.M.* Vol. VII, pp. 215 and 384.

41) For a comparison of the Indian versions of the Suṃsumāra-Jātaka with those of the near East see: BENFEY, *Pantschatantra,* Leipzig, 1859, Vol. I, pp. 420-434. (§ 171-183) and Moses GASTER, *Beiträge zur vergleichende Sagen- und Märchenkunde* in: *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Mediaeval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology.* London, 1925-1928; Vol. II, spec. pp. 1243-1248. Already published in part in Bukarest, 1887, see there pp. 57-62.

42) For interesting information regarding the wanderings of certain fables see: T.W. and Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist Birth-Stories,* London. More generally: J. HERTEL, *Das Pañcatantra, seine Geschichte und Seine Verbreitung,* Leipzig und Berlin 1914 and F. EDGERTON, *The Panchatantra Reconstructed, A.O.S.* 1924, vol. II, p. 3.

THE SPRING FESTIVAL OF THE KALASH KAFIRS

by

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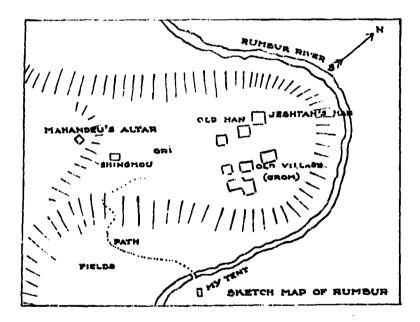
For centuries the ancient Indian religion of the so-called Kafir tribes [1]) of the Hindu Kush has been dwindling away owing to the pressure of advancing Islam, and it must have been cut off from the main current of popular Hinduism long ago. At some earlier date,

SKETCH MAP OF RUMBUR

however, these tribes must have been in contact with those Hindu communities of the North-western Himalayas on whose creeds and customs Professor Vogel is the leading authority.

In 1929, while on a mission on behalf of the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, I had an opportunity of attending the Joshi (J̌/Žōši) or Spring Festival of the Kalash in the Rumbur valley in Chitral. As far as I know no account had been

1) The Kalash do not belong to the special Kafir branch of Indo-Iranian, but speak a true Indo-Aryan language. They are, however, the only tribe which has, as a community, retained their ancient religion up to the present day.

' this festival before and nothing was known about Kalash religion and ceremonies. ars later, in 1935, Colonel Schomberg visited Rumbur during the Joshi, and he has : interesting description of it in his book "Kafirs and Glaciers" [2]), pp. 53, ff. It is, :, obviously impossible for a single observer to take in every detail of a festival for several days and nights, with the ceremonies performed at various places. I therefore to hope that the following account of what I noticed during the celebration oshi, may partly confirm and partly supplement and explain Colonel Schomberg's ion and that it may be acceptable as a homage to my dear and revered friend "Oom [3]). I am fully aware of the incompleteness of the information I am able to give, and oes not allow me to enter upon any discussion of the various features of the ritual.
e date of the beginning of the Joshi is determined by the setting of the sun at a notch in the western hills, as seen from the upper village (*Grom*) of Rumbur. In : first day was May 10th, but in 1935 the festival began the 18th. The Joshi was said :lebrated at the same time as in Rumbur by the Kalash of the neighbouring valley boret, but two days earlier in Birir further south. My informants did not know the served in Urtsun and Jinjoret.
e first day is called *Ṣiŋ-brēi* "the Preparation of the Horn(altar)" [4]). In the morning ng women come down to the river to wash their hair in the icy water, to comb and id to plait their thick braids for the festival. This is probably one of the few occasions :h the Kalash indulge in washing.
the afternoon men and boys assembled at the Horn-Altar (*Ṣiŋmōu*, gen. *Ṣiŋmōlas*, "Horn-Garland"). This is situated on the hillside just above the dancing ground ut considerably below the sanctuary of *Mahandeu*. The Shingmou is a rectangular n, some 4 by 1½ mètres, along the sides of which are erected nine wooden posts, 2 to tres high, carved in the usual Kalash style, and tied together with willow twigs ; through oblong holes in the posts.
e festival was inaugurated by the men and boys repairing the Shingmou, putting the f the platform into place, straightening the posts and renewing the osiers.
en they brought big boughs of walnut (*bribō*) and branches of willow (*beu*) and (*kãnda*). The big boughs were fastened to the corner posts, and the whole of the ou was covered with the foliage. The boys were allowed to assist.
former times, "before the Sahibs came and shot the markhor and ibex", the Kalash hang up markhor horns at the Shingmou. Now the shooting is reserved for the princes and British officers, and only a single pair of old markhor horns was still ing the altar. But its name and the character of the ensuing ceremonies show that the ou was originally consecrated to the markhor.

ondon, 1938.
. few remarks on the Joshi have been published in my *Report on a Linguistic Mission to N.W. India*, 932), pp. 37 f.
iŋmōu brēak let us make ready the "Horn-altar".

When the decoration was finished the priest (*ištikavau*) recited a short prayer to *Mahandeu*[5]):

Mulāvata Dēwa, šūči žē varōti, khāyər kāri!
"Exalted God, fairies and elves, give us assistance!"

Then dried mulberries and walnuts were brought. Some walnuts were scattered about, and the men sat down to eat the mulberries and walnuts as an offering to Mahandeu. I was permitted to take part in the ceremonial meal. This ceremony took place at sunset, "when the sun enters the shade" (*sūri čhak prāwe*).

When the men had finished eating they went down to the *grī*, which consists of a comparatively level piece of ground at the neck of the spur on which the old, upper village (*grom*) and the temple of *Jeṣṭak* are built.

A large drum (*dahŭ*) which is hanging at the corner of a house, was now beaten in order to summon all the men. It ought, it was said, to be beaten seven times (*sat čhaṭ dahū bhajen*). Then the men and boys began dancing. At first they formed a circle, the musicians with drums and flutes in the centre. The priest, looking very excited, chanted several prayers, and the men joined in the chorus, shouting *ho, ho, ho,* and all the while clapping their hands, laughing loudly and putting their fingers into their mouths, whistling. The dance consisted in stepping, turning round and jumping into the air, or brandishing spears, brass dancing axes and staffs specially made for this purpose (*meṣalak guṇḍik* "ram's stick"). They are painted black and at the top end there are three or four twigs which have been bent down, the whole resembling a big stirring stick.

The dancing was very irregular. Some of the dancers preferred to perform their steps outside the circle, alone, or with a single partner, with whom they often engaged in a sham fight. The women were sitting on a hillock as spectators, or were peeping round the house-corners.

It was not possible to write down the songs while the dance was going on, but my intelligent Kalash informant, Mahmad Isa—a confirmed pagan in spite of his Muslim-Christian name—recited to me afterwards those which he remembered.

The first song was devoted to the markhors, which at this time of the year move towards the north, to the high snowfield of the Badakhshan mountains. The object was to induce them to return in autumn to the shooting grounds of the Kalash. In former days the markhor shooting in winter was apparently of some economic importance to the Kalash:

Šarai ṣiṅgoryak čhak kiṛik udhrū Brōjili.
Brōjili kīrik udhrū niau. Brōjili šara ṣiṅoryak čhak.

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5) The supreme god is *Dezau* (gen. *Dezālas)*, apparently a "deus otiosus", corresponding to Kati *Imro* and brother of *Dezālik*, the goddess of birth (Kati *Nirmalī*). Cf. *dīz-* to create (Skt. *dih-*?). Next to him in rank comes *Sajjigor* (Kati *Bagiṣṭ*) whose sanctuary is in the middle of a sombre grove of holly-oaks. But *Mahandeu* (Kati *Mon*) seemed to be the most popular deity, having his shrine close to the old village and the dancing ground.

"The shadow of the markhor horns (falls on) the snow-dust of the Brojili [6]).
The snow-dust of Brojili has melted [7]). The shadow of the markhor horns (now falls on the) Brojili."

Šara- ṣiṇ Nāṅgar Daḍoyak brēi,
Šara-ṣiṇ-mōu, pren Saravačei.
"Make ready the markhor horns in Nagar and Daḍoyak,
The markhor-horn altar down in Saravachei [8])."

Sičin-uṣik. Sičin ta ghamburi khuṇḍiāi.
Šaya ī, mai ghambūryak tai dem.
"The sallow(?)-blossom. Call for the flower of the sallow(?).
Come here, I shall give thee a flower."

Machērik bō hin. Marācika dē, machērik bō hin.
"May there be much honey. Give us mulberries. May there be much honey."

The translation of the songs is not certain in all details.

I did not notice any sacrifice being made this first evening at Mahandeu's shrine, as mentioned by Schomberg, p. 55.

The following night, about 3 a.m. [9]), I went up the steep path from my tent at the riverside to watch the men and women assembling at the dancing ground. Near the Shingmou the men were making a fire of juniper branches. The juniper (*sāraz*) is considered to be holy and is fetched from the hills. The fresh branches produce a dark, heavily scented and suffocating smoke. A kid was killed by cutting its throat, and its blood was sprinkled on the Shingmou. Afterwards the men cooked and ate the meat. One man ascended to Mahandeu's altar with a bowl of milk in his hands and sprinkled the shrine with it as an offering to the god.

A little further down they lit another fire made of resinous pine-wood. Here women who were ill, or whose children were ill were eating a peculiar kind of bread made in the shape of a human figure and called *ṣiṣ-aū* ("head-bread"). This kind of bread is also baked on the occasion of child-bearing women leaving the women's house on the 20th day after the birth of a child.

Meanwhile the householders were going, one by one to the temple (*han*, gen. *handas*) of *Jeṣṭak*, the Vesta of the Kalash (Kati *Disāri*). She, being the goddes of the hearth-fire, is the only deity who possesses a real, roofed temple. Her old temple is dilapidated. Her new temple on the outskirts of the *grom* consists of one square room, with elaborate carvings on the outside of the door. The roof is supported by four carved wooden pillars. The hearth

6) A high hill at the top of Ustui Gol, a valley north of Rumbur.

7) Hindostani *nikal giyā*

8) Nāngar = Khowar Nagar in southern Chitral. Daḍoyak, said to be called Ḍhok in Khowar, possibly = *Dōka-lām* near Arnawai (Arandu). Saravachei was said to be the original name of Ahāř = Khowar Oyon, in the main Chitral valley.

9) SCHOMBERG, p. 56, gives the same time for the beginning of this ceremony.

is between them, in the middle of the room, and the frame of the smokehole is of the usual Chitrali type, with superimposed and gradually diminishing wooden squares. High up on the western wall facing the entrance and a little to the left, there are two pegs on which rests a carved wooden board representing the goddess. The men made a small fire on the fire-place and sprinkled the plank with milk. I was told that rich (*māldār*) people used to sacrifice a goat, but I did not see anybody doing so. Each householder recited a short prayer:

Xušan kāri, xānadan kāri, ābāt kāri dūrei, Jeṣṭak!
„Make us happy, make our family prosper in the house, o Jeshtak! [10])."

During this night one could also see the light of torches moving along the hillsides to the east. They were carried by people visiting the small, outlying altars dedicated to the demons (*jaç*) and making prayers and offerings to them. One prayer was said to run thus:

Mulāvata dēwa Jac, tazāgī kāri,
Māl'āna hātya suwār kāri, kak že boyo dhumbāi!
"Exalted god, Jach, give us health,
Let our cattle prosper and keep off the beasts of prey!"

The second day of the Joshi is called *Çhirpik* (Milk-drinking).

Early in the morning women and young girls go singly to the tombs on the hillside (not to the ancestor images situated near by). They place small, round cakes and cheese on the tombs. Large flocks of crows collect near the tombs and get the benefit of the offerings. The women do not recite any prayers, but merely say:

Naṣṭōn hātya kuṣūrik histik.
"We throw bread to the deceased ones."
This ceremony was called *kurvatdur* or *kuṣūrik-histik.*

About 10 or 11 a.m. the women went in procession to the goat-houses (*gōṣṭ*) which are situated just above the lower village along the north-eastern hillside. They usually consist of an enclosure and a roofed shed, open on one or two sides, and have been decorated for the occasion with big bunches of flowers and leaves tied to a stake (*phuẓbāṭi*). They consist chiefly of juniper, sallow, and Caragana(?)[11]).

The men are waiting at the cattle-sheds. At each of them the women stopped, and the owner gave them cheese and fresh and sour milk to eat and drink. The women sung several songs, one of which was said to their children:

Pārā, pārā jōši gōṣṭ. Çhirīk pī, pī pārā, šišamond hāves.
"Go, go to the goat-houses at the Joshi,
Go and drink milk, and thou wilt become so big!" [12]).

10) Note the introduction of Persian loan-words in the religious formulas.

11) Or Sophra mollis? Cf. SCHOMBERG, p. 21, etc.

12) Hind.: Jātā jātā īd ke din bakrī makān me, dūdh pī kī pī kī (hamārā badan) itnā baṛā hogyā.

Schomberg does not describe this ceremony at the goat-houses. I, on the other hand, did not notice the ceremony which, according to him (p. 59), took place at the bank of the river.

In the afternoon they again started dancing on the *grī*. To begin with only men and boys took part in the dance, which was much livelier than on the preceding day. Two drum-beaters were standing in the centre, and the dancers were forming rows of three or four, each placing his arm on the shoulder of his left-hand neighbour. These rows used to retreat to the outskirts of the dancing-ground and then to hurl themselves again with great speed towards the centre, shouting *ha, ha, ha*! The older men went about, urging the boys to form rows and to join the dancing, shouting: *Uṣṭa, dusiā ṣāta*! "rise and embrace each other's shoulders!"

By and by some men started dancing single, brandishing swords, spears, guns and sticks. The dancers got more and more excited, first the boys, some of whom were only five years old, but gradually the grown-up men too were seized by the general excitement and shouted and whirled round untiringly. I noticed especially the old *Lamcuṇ* [13]) who went on dancing a series of monotonous steps at the very edge of the precipice.

After a while the women, too, joined the dance. At first they seemed a bit shy and danced three and three together, seizing each other by the shoulder in the same way as the men, but towards the right. This dance of the women is called *tren*. But soon they, and especially the young girls, combined into long chains. They moved slowly sideways round the central group in a manner somewhat resembling the dancing of the Santal girls. In between they receded and rushed again towards the centre, all the while singing.

The groups of men and women wound about each other, and now and then a man tried to catch one of the girls. The women were now quite absorbed by the dance and no longer took any notice of my camera and ciné-kodak, although they to begin with objected very strongly to being photographed, believing, as I was told, than their dress would not appear in the picture! Many girls and some young men, had blackened their faces or only the upper part.

Some old women preferred to dance apart in a peculiar way, called *bazum* [14]), keeping to the same spot, waving their hands with a monotonous movement of the wrists, and preserving an unchanging, grave expression for a very long time.

The dance was still going on when I left about sunset. But very soon tired looking men came one by one trudging down the hill and across the footbridge close to my tent, carrying spears or sticks on their shoulders. Yet for a while I could see from my tent the silhouettes of some indefatigable dancers, dark against the evening sky, and hear the monotonous beating of the drums.

The third and most important day is called *Granzulyak ādu*. This name was said to mean "The day of the men's and women's dance".

The dancing began about 2 p.m. All the womenfolk of the village seemed to take part

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13) SCHOMBERG, p. 60, Lamson.

14) Cf. *baza* arm, hand?

in the performance, with the sole exception of my friend Mahmad Isa's sister, the "sheikha", who had been married to a Muhammedan. She remained a spectator and looked very civilized in her simple, black dress, as contrasted with the pagan women, with their cowrie-head-dresses (*kupas*), multicoloured shawls of cheap Indian or European chintz and blackened faces. Also the men and boys had arrayed themselves in gay colours. They carried feathers and flowers in their caps, and their staffs (*meṣalak guṇḍik*) were painted red.

The dancing was still livelier than on the preceding day. As usual they danced single or in rows. The groups of girls whirled round with extraordinary swiftness. The special feature of the men's dance was the slipping of their axes under their knees while they were stepping. The epileptic soothsayer (*dehar*) was brought into the dance, but had to be supported firmly by some other person in order not to fall. As the dance grew ever wilder, several men and one woman got into a state of extasy, threw themselves on the ground, jumped about in a frenzy, or were seized by a fit, believing to see the fairies, and had to be held each by several other people. This state of things seems to belong to the regular programme of the last day's dancing, and I was told beforehand that people used to get mad, and that this was considered to be an important feature of the religious festival.

At intervals the dancers crowded together at the centre of the *grī* and ceased dancing while they sang a song. The songs were said to be of various kinds, but I was not able to get any precise information about the differences between them. I noticed, however, that the music and the dance became slower after a while.

The following songs were afterwards recited to me by Mahmad Isa:

Šābaš tai bātya, mai ǰbamōu, Sumbāra navoŭ.
Dādau pi pūtr up(h)ūǰa, adhēkasta bēṣ t(h)äi kāraṭavar.
Sūčan sum ūg aphāži, sũrai žäi čhalai.
Tai anōga ḍhap, tai gūhum šingər.
"Hail to thee, my son-in-law, grand son of Sumbara.
Thou wert born as the son of thy father, from being small thou hast become very powerful(?) [15].
Thou didst share the water with the fairies, thou didst build the golden irrigation-channel.
Thy waterless (field?) is broad(?), thy wheat is sprouting" [16].

The following song was improvised in honour of the first European visitor:

Šābaš tai, šābarāt angrīzas putr.
Tu kīya kāriz dāi šīša jaṅgalīasa āma mun?
Aphāži rūpeya, caċīris īya pinḍūri,
Dīr, Malaxan tai se gōdam ta bēhisāb.
"Hail to thee, son of the city of the English,
What art thou doing with this savage language of ours?

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15) Hind.: *Bāpse laṛkā paidā huā, thoṛā se bahut bogyā.*

16) I could get no satisfactory explanation of this last line.

Thou didst distribute rupies, thou didst satisfy this crowd [17]),
At Dir and Malakand thou hast stores ("godowns") without number."

When the dancing had gone on for a coupe of hours the young men collected and stacked a large heap of walnut-branches, broken up into pieces of a handy size. Then all the members, of the congregation, men, women and children, seized one branch each and lined up, turning towards the Shingmou where the priest and his assistant were standing. I was also offered a branch and invited to take part in the following ceremony. But when I could not accept the invitation, because it would interfere with my taking photographs and making notes, I was asked to withdraw, together with my Pathan servant and a couple of Chitrali Muslims, to a small hillock behind the *grī*. There was obviously no objection to a foreigner taking part in the religious ceremony, but every member of the crowd had to take an active part in the performance, if not, the effect of the ritual would be spoiled.

The priest, too, carried a walnut-branch in his hand, and another was fastened to his belt. He waved the branch towards the Shingmou, and at intervals while his assistant was milking a goat, the priest dipped the branch into the milk and splashed it on the altar. I could not catch the words of his chanting, but the avowed purpose of this rite was to chase away all kinds of spirits which had haunted the village during the Joshi: *Šūči že varōti ǰagai bihun* "having seen the fairies and elves people are afraid".

Down on the *gri* the assembly for about twenty minutes went on swinging their branches wildly, as if trying to wave something away. They got more and more excited and shouted and shrieked. Some men and women threw themselves on the ground, believing that they saw the spirits and fairies. Viewed from above the scene was most impressive. There was a strong wind, the crowd was nearly covered by the huge, waving boughs, it looked like a stormy forest.

One short, but constantly repeated song ran thus:

Çhir gāli, ē ghandōli, o hō!

"The milk went away, Oh, the walnut-branch, oho!"

Suddenly the priest stopped chanting, stepped near to the edge of the precipice to the west and flung his branch over the cliff. The whole congregation followed his example, and a green cloud whirled through the air and disappeared down in the abyss.—The demons and ancestral spirits must now retire to the graves and altars in the dark groves on the hillside. The atmosphere in the village was relieved of its sacred but weird tension. The Kalash community returned to normalcy again [18]).

After a short rest the crowd formed a long line, men and women separately, but joined together. They do not hold hands, but each of two neighbours catches hold of a small ring or garland of willowy twigs. The long chain winds about in intricate coils and curves, just

17) "Prospective preterite".

18) SCHOMBERG, p. 66, states that the ceremony is only meant as a "polite invitation" to depart.—Cf. the expulsion of Ānanda with a „rameau végétal tenu par les assistants", PRZYLUSKI, *Concile de Rājagṛha*, Buddhica, II, p. 274.

as in the Norwegian popular dance "Kjaerringa med staven" (Dumbledumble deary). They sing:

Yē ḍāginãi, gogas pi šišprē abhāis.
"O Daginai [19]), from the snake I learnt the hissing (whistling?)."

The existence of any snake-god or demon was expressively denied.—When this dance had finished, the garlands were flung over the cliff.

The official part of the ceremony had now probably come to an end [20]). But dancing and merrymaking of the same kind as on the previous days went on for a long while after I had left the scene about 7 p.m.

On a later occasion I was told that the election of the village headman (*gaḍabašāra* = *lambardār*) took place every fourth year at Mahandeu's altar during the third day of the Joshi. Apparently 1929 was not a year of election.

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19) I was told that *ḍāginãi* means a long thing, a chain. But SCHOMBERG, p. 64, gives another explanation.

20) But acc. to SCHOMBERG, p. 67, a final offering was made to Mahandeu.

THE ÇAILENDRA INTERREGNUM

by

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My Leyden preceptor, to whom this essay is proffered as a token of gratitude for what this scholar gave to his pupils of his rich knowledge, remarked with reference to Kalasan's charter in his article which appeared in 1919, entitled *Het Koninkrijk Çrīvijaya* [1]): "Presumably, therefore, we have got to do here with a Javanese potentate "who politically was dependent upon the ruler of Çrīvijaya."

In search of the mutual connection between Çrīwijaya, Java, Sumatra and the Çailendra dynasty, people, however, have gradually distanced themselves from Prof. Vogel's presumption.

After the publication of Coedès's well-known article [2]), the conception that has found the readiest acceptance regarding the Çailendras in Java, no doubt, is that from the middle of the eighth century till the middle of the ninth century, Çailendra princes bore sway over Java [3]); in other words that, after the Hindu-Javanese Çiwaitic king Sañjaya, whose charter of investiture, dating from the year 732, and found near Canggal, his successors, named in a charter of the year 907 [4]), have belonged to the Çailendra dynasty.

When trying to chronologically insert these princes in the so-called Çailendra period, great difficulties were encountered; the fact, inter alia, that "Sañjaya does not call himself a Çailendra in his own charter, and that later kings in the list of whom we have charters

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1) *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederl. Indië* (abbr. *B.K.I.*) 75 (1919) p. 634.

2) G. COEDÈS, *Le royaume de Çrīvijaya, Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient,* XVIII (1918).

3) N. J. KROM, *Hindoe-Javaansche geschiedenis* (1931), pp. 141-145; R. GORIS, *De eenheid der Matarāmsche dynastie, Feestbundel Kon. Bat. Gen van K. en W. 1778-1928,* I (1929), p. 202-206; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *The Sailendra Empire, The Journal of the Greater India Society* I (1934) p. 11-27; G. COEDÈS, *On the origin of the Sailendras of Indonesia,* in the same journal, vol. I (1934) p. 70.

4) W. F. STUTTERHEIM, *Een belangrijke oorkonde uit de Kĕdoe, Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (abbr. *T.B.G.*) LXVII (1927), p. 210: rakai matarām, sang ratu Sañjaya, çrī mahārāja rakai Panangkaran, ç.m.r. Panunggalan, ç.m.r. Garung, ç.m.r. Pikatan, ç.m.r. Kayuwangi, ç.m.r. Watuhumalang, ç.m.r. Watukura (= Balitung).

do not do so either, whereas the *rakai* Panangkaraṇa (and perhaps his immediate successors, but this we do not know) was indeed a Çailendra king..." [5]).

The latter, however, remains to be proved.

If we abide by Prof. Vogel's presumption that in Kalasan's charter there is a question of a Javanese potentate (in this case *rakai* Panangkaraṇa), who politically was dependent upon the ruler of Çrīwijaya—we should rather say: a Çailendra ruler, leaving it as it is, from whence this dynasty came—then, we hope to demonstrate this in what follows, we are on a historical basis, to which the data lead us automatically.

The most important datum is Kalasan's charter. In every respect we hold with the excellent translation Bosch has given us of it [6]), but we propose an interpretation of it which deviates from the one generally accepted until now.

A perusal of this charter leaves the impression that the draftsmen of the document have repeated themselves more than once. But this is only seemingly so. In the protocol the two parties, who most come to the fore in effecting the donation, are purposely mentioned separately. These two parties are:

1. the Çailendra prince with his Hindu *gurus*, and
2. the Javanese prince and the Javanese "*desa*"-heads.

Let us now consider the text in this light. After an introductory stanza, there follows a general communication in which the two principal co-operators of, and the manner in which the institution has been founded are named, viz.: "After the *gurus* of the Çailendra prince having prevailed upon the *Mahārāja dyaḥ* Pañcapaṇa Panangkaraṇa, they caused a magnificent Tārā temple to be built." (stanza 2).

After this preliminary discussion there follows a further elaboration of it, namely in stanza 3, of the share the Çailendra-clerics (*gurus*) had in it, and in stanza 4 of the share of the principal functionaries in the reign of the Javanese princes.

In stanzas 5 and 6 homage is again paid to the illustrious takers of the initiative: 1. to the prince who is the ornament of the Çailendra dynasty, and 2. to the great-king Panangkaraṇa.

So far mention has been made of the building of a temple.

In the 7th stanza the Javanese *pankur*, *tawan* and *tirip* and the "notable desa-heads" are brought on the scene, the *rāmas* of the Old-Javanese deeds. These were namely the representatives of the desas on whose grounds the institution was founded. In olden times even a prince could not dispose at will of ground belonging to a desa community [7]).

Further the "protection" and the "maintenance" of the institution are guaranteed in stanzas 8 and 10 by the Çailendra dynasty, and the "series of nobles succeeding each other",

5) KROM, *l.c.*, p. 144.

6) F. D. K. BOSCH, *De Inscriptie van Kĕloerak*, *T.B.G.* LXVIII (1929), pp. 59-62.

7) *Cf.* B. SCHRIEKE, *Het perdikan instituut*, *T.B.G.* LVIII (1919) pp. 391-423.

and finally in stanzas 9 and 12 by the "illustrious *rakryan* Panangkaraṇa" and the "princes reigning here later".

This is the analysis of Kalasan's charter from which it appears clearly that t w o princes are mentioned in it: the Çailendra overlord and the Hindu-Javanese *rakryan* Panangkaraṇa.

This leads us to the following conclusion: In the year 732 Sañjaya (Canggal charter) founded his dynasty in which Çiwaism came to the front. But still before this dynasty had been able to unfold itself over a large territory, namely already during the reign of the second prince of the dynasty—to wit: Panangkaraṇa—Çailendra princes came and thrust their Mahāyānistic-Buddhistic culture upon the old Çiwaitic-Javanese one there, at the outset under gentle pressure—Kalasan's charter of the year 778 speaks of "persuasion"—but already four years later, as appears from Kĕlurak's charter [8]) in 782, as a matter of course.

Did we see arise only small temples in the past, such as those of the Diëng and of Gĕdong Sanga, in the Çailendra period the enormous, monumental sanctuaries of this dynasty, such as Kalasan, Barabuḍur and caṇḍi Sewu, were erected. A new religion was introduced: the Mahāyānistic Buddhism, with which even a new kind of writing was apparently proclaimed as the official one, the pre-Nāgarī, emanating from the land of the *guru* Kumaraghoṣa of Gauḍa (see Kĕlurak's charter), in which the hitherto known Çailendra charters were published. So far the Pallawa had been the orthography generally used.

But however predominant the Çailendra culture was, the old Hindu-Javanese civilisation had not entirely disappeared during this period. Several charters of this period are known to us, originating from dignitaries who did not belong to the Çailendra reign of princes [9]). And among them we come across some in which names occur, which much later, in the above-named Balitung's charter of the year 907 (note 4), show off with the title of Mahārāja as successors of Sañjaya. But during the Çailendra period the latter dynasty had been entirely thrown into the background. How much it lost in authority appears from the almost complete silence of the three successive princes of the dynasty after Panangkaraṇa. No charter makes mention of the *rakais* Panunggalan and Warak, whose existence we only know from Balitung's charter, in which, as stated, they are mentioned as successors of Sañjaya and Panangkaraṇa. Of the fifth prince of the dynasty, Garung, we have only a doubtful mention, without the title of Mahārāja, in a charter issued in the years 829 or 839. Pikatan was the first that left three charters, among which there is one of the year 853 that calls him "*ratu*" (prince) [10]). But then we are at the end of the Çailendra period in Java!

Little as the princes of the Sañjaya dynasty gave proof of their existence during the Çailendras, comparatively much we notice of other men in power, both secular and religious heads. This phenomenon may, we believe, be accounted for by the fact that the princes of Sañjaya's dynasty had little authority at the time. They had been degraded and had again

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8) F. D. K. BOSCH, *l.c.*

9) *E.g.* J. L. A. BRANDES and N. J. KROM, *Oud-Javaansche oorkonden, Verh. Bat. Gen. v. K. en W.* LX (1913), No. II-VIII. Cf. note 10.

10) KROM, *l.c.*, pp. 156 157.

become the equals of other heads of the district (*rakai* etc.) in their part of the country. There was no question of one mighty central Javanese kingdom, unless it were under the hegemony of the Çailendras. As appears from the charters several autonomous heads of the district must have ruled then by the side of "princes" of Sañjaya's dynasty, whose authority was completely thrown into the shade by the Çailendra princes.

Thus was the political situation in Central Java for at least four generations, a period of about a century, the Çailendra period.

The waning of the Çailendra authority in Central Java was attended with a greater activity of the Sañjaya dynasty. Of Pikatan, the fifth *rakai* after Sañjaya, three charters are known, in one of which he calls himself "ratu", as we have seen. *Rakai* Kayuwangi, succeeding Pikatan, has the predicate *Mahārāja* before his name [11]) in the twelve charters or in those emanating from his government, which are known to us. With him put in an appearance for the first time the well-known lists of officials in the Hindu-Javanese epigraphy, among whom there are several *rakais* or *rakarayans*. An additional indication that this *rakai* Kayuwangi succeeded in making himself master of the hegemony, in the absence of a mighty rival. We have elsewhere pointed out the fact how he again tried by agrarian measures to bring the country to prosperity [12]), the country which probably economically was in a deplorable state, in consequence of the enormous outlay (taxes and statute-labour) which the gigantic buildings of the Çailendras cost the population [13]). It is a well-known fact that in most of his charters Kayuwangi coupled the condition to his grants of land that dry rice-fields (*tĕgal*), gardens (*kĕbuan*), and woods (*alas*) had to be changed into wet rice-fields (*sawah*), with which he consequently aimed at an intensification of agriculture. Whether he succeeded in his endeavours, that is a question.

After the year 882 we have no longer any sign of life of this prudent prince. Of Kayuwangi's successor, Watuhumalang, there is only one charter known, dating from the year 886, in which he has been titled not with king, but with *haji* (*i.e.* "lord" [14]). Had this prince again to contend with the same economical difficulties or did there threaten any political dangers? However this may be, it strikes us that after Kayuwangi's apparently successful reign, witness his many charters, Watuhumalang lets us hear so little from himself. It is true there are again some charters from other men in power, nay from other "princes", during this time [15]). Central Java, at least the kingdom over which the prince of the Sañjaya dynasty ruled, had manifestly been enfeebled. By this profited an East-Javanese man in power and with great success.

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11) BRANDES and KROM, *l.c.* No. XII, XIII, XVI; A. B. COHEN STUART, *Kawi oorkonden in facsimile*, Leiden 1875, No. X. XI, XIV, XV; F. H. van NAERSSEN, *Een nieuwe vondst van Oud-Javaansche oorkonden. Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland, Verslag 9e Congres 1939*, pp. 27 29.

12) *Cf.* F. H. van NAERSSEN in *Oostersch Gen. in Nederl., Verslag 12e Congres 1947.*

13) *Cf.* B. J. O. SCHRIEKE in „*Twee en twintigste Koloniale vacantiecursus voor geographen*" 1941, pp. 3-21.

14) KROM, *l.c.*, p. 181.

15) *E.g.* Çri Mahārāja Rake Lokapāla (*Cf.* T.B.G. LXXV (1935), pp. 437-443), ç.m. Rake Limus and M. dyaḥ Gwas Çri Jayakīrttiwardhana (KROM, *l.c.*, p. 182).

It was king Balitung, of whom it is almost certainly known that he came from East-Java, who succeeded in extending his authority, probably by marriage, also over Central Java [16]).

And this prince showed a longing to legitimate himself as far as Central Java was concerned, namely by means of his aforesaid list of princes. In the same way as later on also did his successor Dakṣa by means of his Sañjaya era [17]).

From this it appears firstly that for the Javanese the Çailendra dynasty was a foreign one, whereas Sañjaya's was the legitimate one, and secondly that the latter has continued to live on, also during the Çailendra interregnum, be it entirely in the background.

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16) *Cf.* GORIS, *l.c.*, pp. 205-206.

17) *Ibidem*, pp. 203-204.

THE BATTLE OF VEṆBAI

by

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI
Madras

In the Vēḷvikuḍi grant of the third year (*c.* A.D. 768) of Pāṇḍya Jaṭila Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyan there occurs an important reference to a battle at Veṇbai which was evidently a landmark in the history of interstate relations in South India, but which has not yet been satisfactorily elucidated. The text of the inscription (ll. 126-134) reads as follows:

126. Maṟṟ-idark-āṇatti kuṟṟam-inṟi-kkūṟunkālai-kkoṅgar-van-na-
127. ṟun-kaṇṇi-k*Gaṅgarājanāḍu* kanyā-ratnam *Koṅgarkōṟku*-kkuṇandu koḍuppa āṟp-
128. p-aṟā-adar-rāṇai-p*Pūrvvarājar* pugaṉṟ-eḻundu vil-viravuṅ-kaḍar-rāṇai-(*Va*)*llabhanai*
129. *Veṇbaivāy* āḷ-amaruḷḷ-aḻind-ōḍa vāḷ-amaruḷ-uḍan-vavviya ēna-ppoṟi
130. igal-amaruḷ-iḍi-urum-ena valan-ēnda (malai)tta-tānai- *Madavikalan* mannar-kō-
131. n-aruḷir-peṟṟuṅ-kōl-vaḷaikkum-vēr-rāṉai-ppal-vaḷai-kkōn kuṇara-
132. ppaṭṭu-ppōr-vandavar-madan-taviṟkkuṅ-*Karavandapurattavar*-ku (la-t)tōṉṟal māv-en-
133. dun-kaḍar-rāṇi-*Mūvendamaṅgalappērarai*(*yan*)-āgiya *Vaidyakaśikhāmaṇi Māraṅgā-*
134. *ri*

Considering the involved construction of the text it seems better to analyse its parts with some care rather than reproduce the literal translation of it given by H. Krishna Sastri [1]). The passage opens with the declaration that the grant proceeds to mention the '*āṇatti*', the executor for it. Then, it mentions that a Gaṅga princess was brought and offered in marriage to Koṅgarkōn. This happened as a result of the battle of Veṇbai in which the Pūrvvarājar with mighty forces rose and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Vallabha by means of an infantry attack (*āḷamar*). The rest of the passage after '*aḻindōḍa*' (l. 129) is an ornate description of the executor of the grant Māraṅgāri, his martial eminence, and the part he played in the battle. The details of this part of the inscription do not concern us much.

1) *Epigraphia Indica*, XVII, pp. 308-309.

hus we have here a battle of Veṇbai in which the Pūrvvarājar defeats the Vallabha and sult a Gaṅga princess is offered in marriage to Koṅgarkōn. This is narrated as an ement of Māraṅgāri, the Pāṇḍya official who evidently fought at Veṇbai on the side Pūrvvarājar, and subsequently became the *āṇatti* of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant. From the t we may guess easily that Koṅgarkōn must be a Pāṇḍyan prince. Krishna Sastri re-d that 'Koṅgarkōn' in order to suit the context must be taken to be a surname of the king, Neḍuñjaḍaiyan himself. This is not improbable in as much as his grandfather an is also called in the inscription (l. 70) 'koṅgarkōmān', and his father (Tēr)māran stated to have contracted relationship with the Gaṅga king (l. 84). This latter event, s, refers to the occasion when Māraṅgāri achieved the success mentioned above [2]). remarks are perfectly just and we would add that the composer of the inscription has room for any doubt regarding the identity of the event mentioned in line 84 and in 7, for on both occasions he uses identical expressions. Thus l. 84 reads

Koṅgar — van — naruṅ — kanni — kGaṅga
rājanoḍu sambandham cheydum, ... expressions which are seen to recur in ll. 126-7 bove.

is thus clear that the battle of Veṇbai was fought in the reign of the father and pre-r of Neḍuñjaḍaiyan, namely Māravarman Rājasimha I (c. A. D. 740-765). This s of the unfortunate attempt of Professor H. C. Raychaudhuri [3]) to identify the rājar' of the battle of Veṇbai with the Pāla rulers of Bengal on the assumption that tle was fought about the time of the date of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant and in the reign of ṭrakūṭa ruler Kṛṣṇa I.

uite obviously the Gaṅga ruler was an ally of the Vallabha and shared his defeat, and p with the enemy afterwards by seeking a dynastic alliance (*Gaṅgarājanaḍu kanyā-koṅgar kōrkku koṇḍu koḍuppa*) with one of the victors, probably their leader, ṇḍya king. Who were the Pūrvvarājar who fought in alliance with the Pāṇḍya against llabha, and who were the Vallabha himself and the Gaṅga king who assisted him? ishnaswami Iyengar seems to suggest that the Pūrvvarājar were the Pal avas repre-by Nandivarman Pallavamalla and the Gaṅga ruler was Srīpuruṣa Muttarasa and the ha Cāḷukya Kīrtivarman II [4]). There is much to be said in support of this suggestion. period of constant feuds between the Caḷukyas of Bādāmi aided by their feudatories ṅgas on the one side, and the Pallavas on the other. Vikramāditya II claims to have d Kāñcī thrice and his Kannaḍa inscription in the temple of Kailāsanātha at uram shows that this was no empty boast. His son and successor Kīrtivarman II took the wars of his father against the Pallavas and kept up the hostilities even after he the throne in 744-5 A.D. Nandivarman II Pallava had, therefore, every motive for

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Epigraphia Indica, XVII, p. 295.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar Commemoration volume pp. 187-200. This has been followed in *History* Vol. I ed. by R. C. MAJUMDAR.

GOPALAN, *Pallavas of Kanchi*, Introd. pp. xxvii, xxviii.

organising the Southern powers against the Cāḷukya with a view to rid himself of the perpetual menace from across the Tungabhadrā. On the other hand there is no other instance of the Pallavas being referred to as 'Pūrvvarājar' or Eastern kings. The Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas were by no means friendly at any time, and the conflict of the Pallavas with the Pāṇḍyas in the south was a perennial as that with the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi. Rājasimha and Nandivarman himself are known to have fought against each other in the southern marches of the Pallava kingdom. Further, if Nandivarman was the chief opponent at the battle of Veṇbai, it is difficult to account for the absence of all reference to this battle in his numerous records and for the fact that Sripuruṣa seeks a dynastic alliance not with the Pallava but with the Pāṇḍya.

So it seems better to seek another reconstruction if possible. 'Pūrvvarājar' has also the meaning 'ancient kings' and may be taken to refer collectively to the three ancient monarchs of the Tamil land, Pāṇḍya, Cēra and Cōḷa of whom the Pāṇḍya enjoyed the hegemony in this period. The Vēḷvikuḍi grant itself describes in glowing terms the expansionist policy followed by Māravarman Rājasimha who crossed the Cauvery, subjugated Malakoṅgam, reached Pāṇḍikkoḍumuḍi and directly threatened the Gaṅga kingdom. At this juncture unable to meet single-handed the onslaught of the powerful invader from the south, Srīpuruṣa must have sought the assistance of his suzerain Kīrtivarman II. The result was a defeat in the battle of Veṇbai which in the event proved more disastrous for Kīrtivarman than for the Gaṅga ruler, for while the Gaṅga succeeded in retaining his kingdom and entered into a friendly alliance with the Pāṇḍyan victor, Kīrtivarman found himself considerably weakened and was overthrown soon after by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga. The fact that in Kīrtivarman's inscriptions he is said to have defeated the army of the Kēraḷas, Cōḷas and Pāṇḍyas, it may be noted finally, gives support to the interpretation of "Pūrvvarajar" that has been suggested above. It is not possible to fix the exact date of the battle of Veṇbai, but round about A.D. 750 appears to be the best possible date for the event.

TREASURES OR MEDITATION?

by

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Those who are interested in Javanese archeology and have followed the development of Hindu-Javanese art from its very beginnings in the early centuries of our era up to the last stages in the fifteenth century, must have been struck by the remarkable difference between Middle-Javanese art (7th-12th century) and the art of Eastern-Java (13th-15th century). The former, classical, based upon Indian principles, aesthetics and cosmogonic views; the latter, deeply drenched with old-native ideas about ancestor-worship, spirit-fear —entailing spirit-control—, and its belief in a universal magic force shared by all things and beings in a greater or lesser degree. Obviously explanation and understanding of Eastern-Javanese caṇḍis, reliefs, objects of cult is made rather difficult with such fleeting notions in addition to an extreme lack of contemporary literature. It has however been found that knowledge of Balinese religious conceptions and literature can be a great help in solving the riddles of Eastern-Javanese art. There are many indications that the present complex of religious ideas in Bali is closely related to those in Java during the era of Majapahit (ca. 1300 A.D.-ca. 1500 A.D.).

One of these riddles is the meaning and function of caṇḍi Panataran in East-Java, build in the course of the 14th century: a complex of constructions divided over three courts in echelon, of which the last and most eastern court contains the principal building. This design is already an indication in the direction of Bali where most temples consist of three or more courtyards: the outer court, *djaba,* where we find several balé's for the cooking of food and for other social purposes; the second court, *djaba tĕngah,* where the offerings are being prepared, and the last, innermost court, *djroan,* where the principal buildings are situated in which the gods descend on special occasions.

It is not the intention to try and explain the function of all those terraces, buildings and fundaments that are found at Panataran. This would be far too hazardous a task considering the present lack of data and information on analogous subjects in oldtime Java. One of the very few facts we know about caṇḍi Panataran is its having been a national temple, remotely comparable to the Pura Bĕsakih at Bali.

There is however one building in the second courtyard that has drawn our special

attention and to the understanding of which the present article is dedicated: the Nāga-temple [1]). Small but of exquisite workmanship, it consists of a basement and principal body of stone whereas the roof was probably made of perishable material. Its main features are the nine surrounding figures turned in pradakṣiṇa-direction, supporting with the left hand four great nāgas and carrying in their right hand a bell—with exception of the two doorway-figures, who keep the bell in their left hand. Each figure is standing on one—at the corners two—panels with narrative reliefs, and is wearing royal attire of which we will give details furtheron. The four nāgas, one per side, are wound along the top, also in pradakṣiṇa-direction, so that each nāga has its head entwined with the tail of the next one. They carry their diadem and even have adorned themselves with the jewel in their tail, but apart from these mythological details they are quite realistically sculptured as real serpents. The space between the figures is decorated with medallions, each figuring a small animal whose tail develops into most fantastic and playful spiral lines.

According to the late professor Krom, this building should—on analogy with Balinese tradition—be considered as the *kĕhĕn* of the temple-complex: a storehouse for temple-treasures [2]). It is true that in India the nāga is considered to be a guardian of treasures, but neither the nine statues with their royal attributes, nor the bell they are carrying are explained by the kĕhĕn-notion. This in addition to the fact that hitherto no traces of a treasury have been found at any other Hindu-Javanese caṇḍi. Which is rather plausible, for the Javanese caṇḍi, at any rate those of the Eastern-Javanese period,—connected with the king, his dynasty or the state—was not like the Indian temples in constant use during the whole course of the year; only at certain times, for certain ceremonies in connection either with ancestor-worship, state-cult or other rites the temple-premises showed a busy aspect. During the rest of the year we must imagine the courtyards deserted, except for a few people attached to the place, who did perhaps some very lazy sweeping. Should the temple have had treasures of great value, it would have been most unwise to leave them at such an unguarded place! The "treasures" kept in Balinese temples mostly consist of old statues, stones that are regarded as sacred for some or other reason, or a few other objects, but as far as we know there is no question of real treasures in our meaning of the word. Furthermore the treasure of the state—i.e. the king and his dynasty—, the *upatjårå,* were always kept in the kings immediate neighbourhood: in the *pråbåjåså,* as this special building is called in the present kraton's of Java, or the *gĕdong batara kawitan* or *giri suci* of the puri of Gianjar, Bali. In the *Nāgarakṛtāgama,* a laudatory poem achieved in 1365 A.D. in honour of the then king and his dynasty, the poet gives among other things a description of the kings habitations and there also the *upåtjårå* are in closest vicinity to the king [3]). And what should be more natural, since it is the possession of those *upåtjårå* or state-*pusaka,* imbued with magic forces, that ensures the king his power?

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1) See plates c and g.

2) KROM, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche kunst*², II, p. 271.

3) *Het Oud-Javaansche lofdicht Nāgarakṛtāgama,* 's-Gravenhage 1919. Zang 9, strophe 4.

TREASURES OR MEDITATION?

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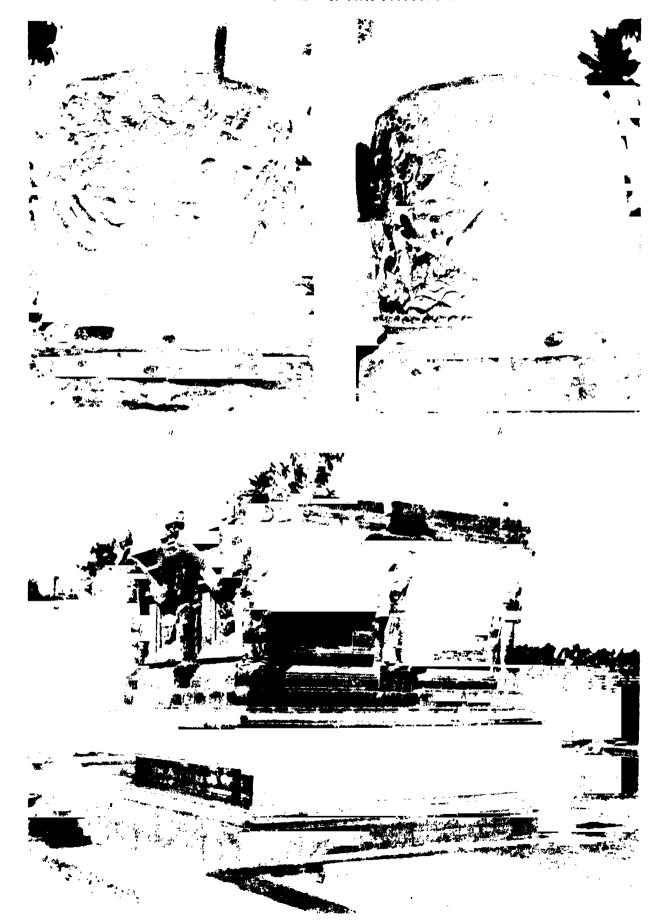
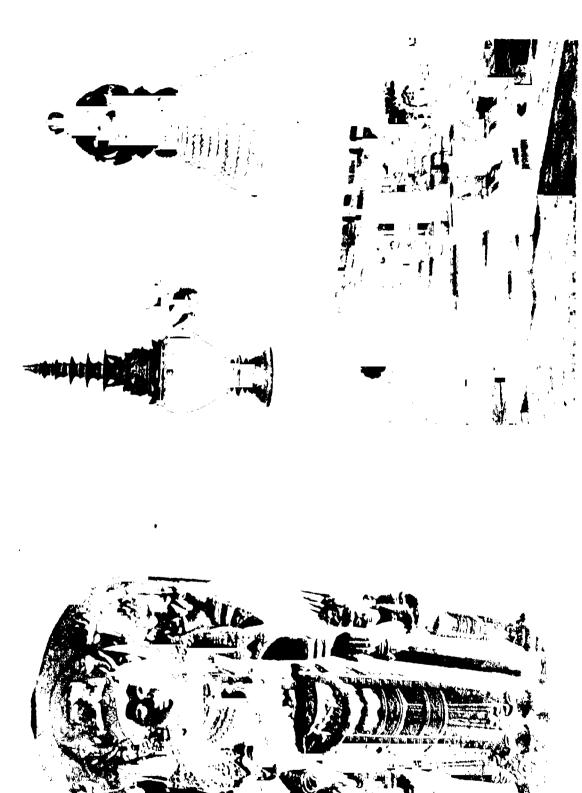
b

c

TREASURES OR MEDITATION?

d THE SO-CALLED HARIHARA OF SIMPING — *e* and *f* HINDU-JAVANESE HOLY-WATER VESSEL AND PRIESTLY MITRE
g THE NĀGA-TEMPLE OF PANATARAN, JAVA

Where therefore we feel not inclined to agree with the notion of the Nāga-temple as a treasury, we will have to look for another more plausible explanation.

It is nowadays generally accepted that a Hindu-Javanese caṇḍi represents in many, many cases a Meru [4]). Not the classic Meru of Hindu cosmology, centre of the world, but his magic double, the Meru of the spot, whereby that special spot becomes the centre of the world. This Meru-conception plays a very important rôle in Javanese thought and therefore it seems worthwhile to have a look at old-Javanese litterature to see whether we can find any legends about the Meru. The *Tantu Panggĕlaran* describes us in a lengthy way the displacement of Meru's tophalf from Jambudvīpa towards Java, while a nāga—Viṣṇu in disguise—is being used as a rope to roll the mountain along as a spinning top. When after several adventures and scrapes, including the temporary death of the gods, the mountain at last is placed firmly on the island of Java, in order to keep it from moving and shaking, the Lord Parameśvara orders the gods to worship the mountain so as to obtain its contents. The gods leave obediently, worship the mountain and take out its nucleus: rubies, diamonds and other jewels. In doing so however they overlook *kamaṇḍalu,* the jar containing *amṛta,* the very heart of the mountain. On their return they are friendly scolded by the Lord: "My children, gods, where have you got the heart of the Mahameru? You did offer gold, rubies and diamonds, but the jewelled jar Kamaṇḍalu containing the *tattwāmṛta*-holywater that serves as life to all gods, is not there!" [5])

This reaction of the Lord shows us distinctly that in Java at any rate the chief value of the Meru did not consist in jewels, but of its containing the *amṛta,* the life-giving, life-restoring holy-water.

Let us turn to another narrative: the *Devaruci,* a very popular story with mystic speculations about the *"sangkan-paran",* the "wherefrom and the whereto", the all-absorbing questions that affect sooner or later the mystically-minded—and all Javanese have a strong tendency towards mysticism. An old ms. with this story has been discovered by Poerbatjaraka, who gives as an approximate time of composition the "era of transition" viz. the time when Islam made its appearance in Java. There are no traces though of Islam-influences in the Devaruci [6]).

Bima, the famous Pāṇḍava, starts to go and get the holy-water which is considered to be found in the sea. With a firm and concentrated mind he enters the sea, but is soon overcome by the rolling waves and sinks, exhausted, gradually towards the bottom of the sea. His heart and mind however keep concentrated on the lofty *dharma* and have already shed all ties to this earthly life. At that moment Bima encounters a nāga who encircles his powerless limbs and tries to kill him, but in the very nick of time Bima recovers consciousness and finishes the nāga off with his "pañcanaka", his five nails. Very soon after this narrow

4) STUTTERHEIM, *The meaning of the Hindu-Javanese caṇḍi, J.A.O.S.,* Vol. 51, Number 1. Also the study of R. HEINE-GELDERN in *Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst und Kultur Asiens,* Band IV, pp. 28 ff. In the *Tantu Panggĕlaran,* edited by Th. PIGEAUD, we find on p. 293 that the *Rājapatiguṇḍala* calls a sanctuary a Mahameru.

5) *Tantu Panggelaran,* ed. by Th. PIGEAUD, pp. 17, 167.

6) R. Ng. POERBATJARAKA, *Déwa-roetji,* in *Djåwå* 1940, afl. 1.

escape [7]), he reaches an incredibly beautiful island sparkling with gold and jewels, in short: a sort of paradise. Here he meets Devaruci, a dwarf who teaches Bima, after having him entered into his inside, the Great Knowledge, the Supreme Insight, by which Bima has found the Oneness with the Highest Principle [8]).

And do we not encounter the same theme in the legend of Nāgārjuna who has to descend into the depths of a lake to find with the help of a Nāgarāja the Supreme Wisdom, condensed in the Prajñāpāramitā? [9]).

It is interesting too to note the fact that the Ānandakandapadma, the lotus of the heart where according to yoga-adepts the jivātman will be united with the Iṣṭadevatā—essentially both are one and the same—is very often compared to an island, glorious and heavenly, in the sea [10]).

There are more instances, but let these suffice to illustrate the general notion of a sea, wherein an island (mountain, rock), containing the amṛta: in a figurative manner of sense: the Supreme Wisdom. Before this heavenly place is reached however, one has to pass a nāga and more often than not dies in the struggle, after which revival follows, leading to complete success.

That nāgas are in some way connected with the holy-water is shown not only in the above-mentioned narratives, but also in plastic art [11]): well-known are the Hindu-Javanese vessels for holy-water with a nāga-neb and mountain-top. Many are the basins in Bali that are decorated with nāgas. The symbolic piece of Trawas, which was proved by the late Stutterheim to have functioned as a fountain of holy-water, consists of a lotuscushion supporting one large central cone in the midst of eight smaller ones, the whole surrounded by a nāga [12]). More such pieces have been found. Very remarkable too is the holy-water-vessel from the Pura Pusĕr ing Jagat at Pejeng. Dr. Stutterheim read the candra sĕngkala as 1329 A.D., a

7) In some present Malay versions Bima is even actually killed and revived by the Lord Baṭara Guru.

8) In an article by H.H. the late Mangkoenagoro VII on the wayang and some of its symbolic and mystic elements, the author compares the components of a lakon with the successive stages through which the adept excercising "sĕmadi" will pass. As the example par excellence he takes the Bimasuci (a modern version of the Devaruci) Bima's killing of the nāga is explained as a symbol for the last act one has to perform before the real, mental ego can enter into "the unknown world full of light and without shadow", where the adept will find the knowlede about *sangkan-paran*. This act consists of the conscious cutting off of respiration, as the last link with material life. The nāga represents the respiration. All this applies to the sĕmadi with the purpose to find the "water of life", the said Supreme Knowledge. K. G. P. A. A. MANGKOENAGORO VII, *Over de wajang-koelit (poerwa) in het algemeen en over de daarin voorkomende symbolische en mystieke elementen, Djåwå* 1933, pp. 79sq.

9) Cf. GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie des Buddhismus* pp. 38 ff.

10) P H POTT, *Yoga en Yantra*, Leiden 1946.

11) The *Mahānirvāna Tantra* (translation from the sanskrit by Arthur AVALON (2nd ed., p. 403 sq.) orders the maker of a well, tank, lake or any other kind of reservoirs of water to place therein a Nāgastambha and some aquatic animals made of metal. Hereafter one should worship Nāga and by drawing lots choose one of the eight Nāgarājas, who is to be made the protector of the water.

12) STUTTERHEIM, *Het zinrijke waterwerk van Djalatoenda, T.B.G.* LXVII, 1937, p. 214 sq.

date which leads us back to the period in which Panataran was build. But not only the date, also the theme of the reliefwork points to Panataran and especially to the Nāga-temple. We see eight nāgas carried by eight figures, surrounding a densely wooded mountain at the base of which we discern the sea. The nature of the gods carried by the nāga's and of the figures supporting the nāga has not yet been explained, and it is not our intention to try and do so now—but may we use this vessel as a stepping-stone to return to our Nāga-temple?

Before we carry on it is necessary to describe the figures more in detail. All nine are dressed completely alike, wearing over their left shoulder, next to the skin, the sacerdotal belt, partly covered by an elaborate neck-ornament. *Udarabandha* and *upavīta* are also present, the *upavīta* consisting of five strings and with a richly worked clasp. Over the folded garment we notice two plain slings for support and a girdle with two pendants, attesting a very luxurious taste. So do the various rings round upperarm, pulse and ankle. The *tumpal*-shaped earrings form a worthy introduction to the glorious crowning-piece consisting of a diadem with five antefixes; the two back-ones are continued downwards into two *makara*-shaped shoulder-ornaments. A single row of *sěkti*-flames protrudes from the diadem. The hair, gathered upwards by a ring also decorated with antefixes, is enclosed within a pentagonal crown, topped by a lotusbud.

When we compare this extremely rich and fastidious attire with the various ornaments of the Harihara from Simping—a funeral statue of king Kṛtarājasa, the first king of Majapahit (1294-1309) in the shape of a god—we will see that they agree even down to the pleats between and next to the legs, except for a few slight differences in detail and form. There are however two points on which our nine figures differ from the usual statues, viz. the bell and a kind of apron, worn over the main garment but passing under the various ornaments. This bell we find still in use with the *pědandas* of Bali. At a given moment in his performance the pědanda takes the bell in his left hand and after three introductory rings keeps the bell jingling during the *ngili-ātma*-ceremony, a ceremony by which he becomes united with, no, becomes Siva himself [13]).

Summarising the salient features we see a statue adorned like a royal person but carrying a priestly attribute [14]). Does not this combination show us in a plastic way one of the fundamental characteristics of South-East-Asian kingship?

In an arresting article about Indian and native cults in Campa, Mus, basing his remarks on studies from Lévi, Przyluski and Granet, deals among other things with the civilisation of "l'Asie des Moussons": a pre-aryan complex of religious conceptions to be found over a vast territory, including India, Indochina, the southern half of China and Indonesia [15]). In a world densely populated by spirits—ancestor-spirits, waterspirits, wood-spirits and so on—

13) DE KAT ANGELINO, *Balineesche Moedra's*, pp. 39 s.v. It is remarkable that from our statues the seven going round the temple keep the bell in their right hand, which points to the Balinese (tantric) *sěngguhu*, whereas the two statues next to the doorway keep the bell in their left hand like the *pědanda*.

14) That it is not a representation of a priest is moreover clearly shown by comparison of the royal makuṭa with an example of a Hindu-Javanese priestly mitre, cf. plate f.

15) P. MUS, *Cultes Indiens et indigènes au Champa*, in *B.E.F.E.O.* XXXIII, pp. 367 sq.

the spirit of the soil stands out as a primus inter pares. In this pre-aryan stage there is not yet question of anthropomorphism, and it is the soil itself which is god—an impersonal god defined by its locality. But then the awkward problem arises as how to establish contact between this impersonal god without ears to hear or eyes to see, and the human group that considers itself dependent upon this god-soil. The obvious solution is to supply the god-soil with a substitute body by which he becomes attainable. To quote Mus: "Dans ce schéma religieux, il faut distinguer trois termes: la position divine, la position humaine et la position rituelle, intermédiaire entre les précédentes. ... Ce sera la personnification temporaire de la divinité. Tantôt une victime que l'on a sacrifiée fixera en elle, pour la durée du rite, l'entité abstraite et lui prêtera ses yeux et ses oreilles. Tantôt, et plus commodément, le groupe délèguera un prêtre, et p a r e x c e l l e n c e s o n c h e f, p o u r r e c e v o i r e n l u i l e d i e u e t l e r e p r é s e n t e r [16])". "Je vous disais que le délégué du groupe, qui d'habitude est son chef, s'identifie au dieu, au moins pendant la cérémonie. La définition du divin local comme „l'expression des énergies de la terre" est donc commune au dieu et au chef. Ce dernier est le relais du divin. En lui réside par délégation la puissance qui assure la fécondité des animaux et des plantes, et en général la fortune du groupe". "Ce que nous observons, c'est donc, dans l'espace, une marqueterie de cultes locaux, liés au sol, un cadastre religieux, où le chef forme l'intermédiaire entre le sol-dieu et le groupe; dans le temps, l'association durable du groupe et du sol, fondée sur la personnalité des chefs défunts: c'est là, somme toute, et sous des espèces religieuses, comme le rudiment d'un droit dynastique et d'un droit territorial" [17]).

It is remarkable how well these conceptions apply to oldtime Java. The Hindu-Javanese kings of Eastern Java are known to have been considered as incarnations of the highest god, their *puras* were the centre of the world, the ceremonial rites were copies of the ceremonies in heaven—, in short the surroundings of the king were supposed to be a literal heaven on earth. These views are of course an extension of the ideas outlined by Mus, strongly affected by Hindu conceptions about royalty.

A periodically re-established contact between the god and his incarnation was necessary to maintain quantity and quality of the king's *sĕkti*, i.e. his magic charge, and this was accomplished in seclusion. All over the world seclusion, combined with meditation, fast or exhaustion, are the necessary items before entering into contact with a divinity. Particularly our thoughts wander back to the old Vedic ritual and its *dīkṣa*. According to Oldenberg, the dīkṣa contained as the two essential elements: *tapas* and rebirth [18]). To further this the dīkṣita had to be secluded from the outerworld, after a thorough cleaning-process, to concentrate for a certain space of time, after which he was ready to participate in the ceremonies. On completion of these the dīkṣita had to enter water and take a bath; in all probability to wash away the dangerous magic forces that had accumulated on him by this seclusion

16) Our spacing.

17) P. MUS, o.c., pp. 376 sq.

18) OLDENBERG, *Religion des Veda*, pp. 397 ff.

and the continuous contact with gods[19]). Should this dīkṣa-rule still have been valid in the Eastern Javanese period of Majapahit, it would but teach us again how deeply rooted Indian conceptions were at the Javanese courts, and how well blended in the course of time with old-native notions!—

With this in mind resuming our study on the Nāga-temple, its function and its statues with their mixture of royal and priestly ornaments, we come to the following suggestion: is it not plausible that the small Nāga-temple, situated at the end of the second court, served the king—who must have been one of the most important, probably even the most important participant in the cult—as a personal retreat, as a place where to meditate? Meditation about the one-ness of his ego with the Supreme Being, primary to his identification with this Supreme Being. In which capacity he participated in the final and crucial ceremonies at the main-temple in the last and most sacred court, the *djroan.*

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19) Could the above-mentioned apron our statues are wearing, possibly be a reminiscence of the black antelope-skin that had either to be sat on or to be worn by the dīkṣita? Cf. OLDENBERG, l.c., and LÉVI, *La doctrine du sacrifice.*

THE SUBJECT OF THE SĪGIRI PAINTINGS

by

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Pīna-payodhara-bhārā lalita-sārasa-racita tanu-madhyā
Nīlendīvara-nayanā keyaṁ manoramā rāmā.

(She is burdened with swelling breasts; her slender waist is adorned with a lovely girdle; her eyes are like unto blue water-lilies. Who is this charming damsel?)

The above Sanskrit stanza is faintly but sharply incised in Sinhalese characters—in size about the same as that of the average manuscript and dating from the eighth century or thereabouts—on the glass-like polished plaster of the wall serving as a parapet to the gallery which, in olden days, led to the palace on the very summit of the Sīgiri (Skt. Siṁha-giri) rock. The author of the stanza has signed his name as Vajravarman; probably he was a member of the royal family. The damsel referred to is one of the women depicted in the frescoes which adorned the western side of the rock in olden days and of which what is now preserved in one of the pockets of the rock is reckoned by discerning critics to be a precious relic of the ancient pictorial art of India and Ceylon.

The question asked by Vajravarman over a thousand years ago is repeated, though not in the same poetic form, by almost every one who visits Sīgiri today and admires the paintings, be he the ordinary tourist, whose interest in the subject is casual, or the archaeologist, who is interested in interpreting the relics of the past, or the art critic, attempting to evaluate the quality of the paintings, or the scholar, who is at home in the languages and culture of the island. Many are the replies which this question has evoked, some given hesitantly by those who have devoted considerable thought to the matter, others with much confidence by people who have had a more passing acquaintance with these paintings. The latter category need not detain us here. It is enough if we refer to the replies of two eminent authorities, Mr. H. C. P. Bell, the pioneer in the study of Ceylon archaeology who first brought these paintings to the notice of the learned world and who did so much to ensure their proper preservation, and Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy to whom is in great measure due the appreciation which the ancient art of India and Ceylon receives from men of taste in the Occident as well as in the Orient.

In Mr. Bell's opinion, the fair-complexioned figures in the Sīgiri paintings represent the ladies of the household of King Kassapa, the parricide who built the palace on the top of the rock. The dark-complexioned figures depict the serving women of the royal ladies who, he imagines, are wending their way with flowers in their hands to the neighbouring of Pidurāgala. By studying their facial expressions and features, Mr. Bell has even attempted to identify some of the individual figures with certain ladies of the Sinhalese royal house of that period who find mention in the chronicles. If we accept Mr. Bell's opinion, we are to believe that King Kassapa used the rock cavity as a portrait gallery of the queens and princesses of his court [1]).

According to Dr. Coomaraswamy, the Sīgiri paintings represent celestial women with their attendant maids, casting down a rain of flowers. In his view "the fact that the figures are all cut off by clouds a little below the waist proves that the persons represented cannot have been regarded as human beings" [2]).

Mr. Bell and Dr. Coomaraswamy have both been anticipated in the opinions they have expressed about the identity of the women in the Sīgiri paintings, by persons who visited this rock fortress in the eighth and ninth centuries. The graffito which we have placed at the head of this article is one among many hundreds of such old scribblings which are to be seen on the gallery wall. The vast majority of these are Sinhalese verses, dateable in the eighth and ninth centuries. About seven hundred of these Sinhalese verses, important alike from the philological as well as from the literary point of view, have now been deciphered [3]) and, as may be expected, most of them have as their subject matter, the women depicted in the frescoes. The identity of the women is a favourite theme of these versifiers and many of them, like Mr. Bell, have come to the conclusion that the paintings are representations of the wives of King Kassapa. One visitor, for instance, has written on the gallery wall: 'Having remained in the king's harem, we shall not go away when he is no more'. 'So thinking, as it were, they (i.e. the ladies) have stopped and are standing, gazing forward'. A few among these old time visitors to Sīgiri have taken the view which Dr. Coomaraswamy was to take more than a thousand years later, about the identity of the women in the paintings. The following is an example: 'I, too, after having considered in my mind, all that has been said to me, decide, in this wise, in the matter which has arisen. It is as if heavenly nymphs [4]) have descended to the earth'.

The two graffiti, quoted above, give expression to the poetic imagination of those who indited them on the gallery wall and need not be taken seriously in a scientific investigation with regard to the subject of the paintings, even though their opinions tally with those of two eminent investigators of modern times. On the other hand, what these graffiti have to

1) *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Ceylon Branch*, Vol. xv, pp. 117-118.

2) *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (London, 1927), p. 163.

3) Much progress has already been made in the preparation of a comprehensive monograph on the graffiti on the Gallery Wall at Sīgiri. For preliminary accounts of these, see *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch*, Vol. xxxiv. pp. 309-349, and *The Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Vol. xii, pp. 34-37.

4) *Asara* which is Sinhalese for Skt. *apsaras*.

tell about the extent and nature of the paintings as they existed three or four centuries after the date of their original execution is not without value in such an investigation.

The cavity in which the paintings can now be seen is hardly more than an indentation of the vertical face of the rock and is at a height of about 40 ft. from the floor of the gallery. The rock inside the pocket slopes downwards and there was no level stretch on it for any one to stand upon, a flooring having been made of cement in modern times for the benefit of visitors who climb there now. The paintings are not visible from the gallery nor from any other point close to the gallery. No access of any sort existed in ancient days to the spot where the paintings are now, and it has been necessary to instal a new winding stair-case of steel so that visitors could climb to the place. A question which visitors very pertinently ask often is why the ancients painted at such an inaccessible spot instead of selecting a place where their work could be seen and admired with greater ease. The reply to this question is that, in olden days, it was not only inside this rock pocket that paintings did exist. At one of the edges of the rock pocket is the outstretched hand of a figure which when it was fully preserved must have extended to the vertical face of the rock. Here and there on the face of the rock are patches of lime plaster similar to that in the rock pocket. If the vertical face of the rock was covered with lime plaster, it could also have been painted over exactly as we find in the rock pocket now. A drip line runs along almost the whole of this western side, close to the summit of the rock. This prevented the rain water from trickling down and must have been executed as a protection to the paintings on the vertical face of the rock. Even with such a protection, the exposed vertical face of the rock was not sheltered from the sun and the rain as is the rock pocket, and any paintings there would have perished during the course of the centuries.

This is also the conclusion one arrives at by study of the graffiti. Some of them speak of five hundred golden coloured damsels which one saw at Sīgiri in the eighth or ninth century. The figure five hundred need not be taken as the result of an exact enumeration, but it certainly indicates that at that time the paintings consisted of many figures than are to be seen today. The number of female figures to be seen now in the rock pocket is 22, including those of dark complexion in addition to the golden-coloured ones. Some of the graffiti also describe figures in the paintings which are obviously no longer there. For instance, a lady holding a *vīṇā* is referred to; no such figure exists now. From some of the eighth century verses, we also learn that even at that date the paintings on the exposed face of the rock were peeling away or becoming faded.

A number of these graffiti enable us to learn that at that time the paintings could be easily seen as one passed along the gallery. One visitor has written his verse on the assumption that the ladies in the painting resent being intruded upon by people; and, after begging to be excused for his unwelcome visit, pleads that there was no other way for one to go to the top of the rock. In those days, one could, while passing through the gallery, touch the paintings. Many people no doubt, did so and contributed to their decay. Some visitors of those days were conscious of the danger to the paintings by being touched indiscriminately and a warning not to touch the paintings is contained in one of the graffiti. It says: 'When

they go away, having come here and looked at this, the people, while climbing down, rubbed their hands on it as the painting captivated their minds. Do get down without rubbing this with your hands'. Another visitor attempted to prevent the people from touching the paintings in a more artful manner. He asserted that the reason why the peoply failed to win the beautiful damsels in the painting was the fault of having touched them with their hands.

Thus there is evidence to prove that the entire western face of the rock was covered with paintings when the palace existed on its summit. But, with the exception of the verse which refers to a lady holding a *vīṇā* and a few others, the graffiti seem to refer to figures of the type that are still preserved. What remains of the paintings seems therefore to give us a general idea of the whole scheme which consisted of single figures or pairs of figures, cut below the waist by clouds and holding flowers in their hands. The palace on the top of the rock, with its outer walls appearing as a continuation of the perpendicular sides of the rock, must have appeared to one looking at it from the level ground below as a heavenly apparition, and the figures of the women dotting the side of the rock must indeed have served to heighten this effect. Many visitors to Sīgiri in olden days have in fact exclaimed that it was like obtaining a sight of heaven. It must have been a gorgeous spectacle in its hey-day and no wonder that those who saw it in the eighth and ninth centuries so readily burst forth into song and scrawled their compositions on the plaster of the gallery wall.

The figures in the Sīgiri paintings are thus seen to have served an essentially decorative purpose. They thus differ from figures in the paintings of the same or somewhat earlier date at Ajanta and Bagh in India, the purpose of which is essentially narrative. The realisation of this fact is important in considering the subject which the paintings at Sīgiri were meant to represent. The decorative motifs peculiar to a particular school of art are known to remain constant, the tradition being handed down from master to pupil or from father to son. The references to such decorative designs forthcoming in the chronicles are therefore not without importance in considering the identity of the figures in the Sīgiri paintings, particularly in view of the fact that these paintings and the Pali chronicle *Mahāvaṁsa* are the products of the same age.

In describing the relic-chamber of the Mahāthūpa (Ruvanvälisäya) at Anurādhapura, the walls of which are said to have been of 'fat-coloured stone' and which was supposed to have been eighty cubits square and of the same height [5], the *Mahāvaṁsa* says:—

Medavaṇṇakapāsāṇabbhittiyaṁ yeva ujjalā
Vijjulatā appitā āsuṁ dhātugabbhe vibhūsitā [6])

Geiger translates this verse as follows:—'On the wall made of fat-coloured stones sparkling zig-zag lines were traced, serving as adornement for the relic-chamber'. *Vijjulatā* is translated here by zig-zag lines. The word means ordinarily 'streaks of lightning' and

5) The dimensions are obviously exaggerated

6) *Mahāvaṁsa*, Chap. xxx, v. 97.

Geiger's rendering is based on the supposition that flashes of lightning were realistically represented on the walls. It is difficult to imagine how zig-zag lines could have been considered as an adornement of the wall. No such decorative device is known from actual remains of ancient monuments in Ceylon.

The commentary to the *Mahāvaṁsa,* known as *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī,* explains the word *vijjulatā* by *Meghalatā nāma vijju-kumāriyo* 'lightning princesses named cloud-damsels'. In support he quotes from the *Porāṇā*—traditional authorities which existed before the *Mahāvaṁsa* was composed—a verse which runs as follows:—

Meghalatā vijjukumārī medapiṇḍakabbhittiyā
Samantā caturo passe dhātugabbhe parikkhipi [7]).

This verse, as it has come down to us, is in ungrammatical Pali and it is not certain whether *Meghalatā* and *Vijjukumārī* have to be taken as forming a compound together or as two separate words. The commentary has treated the words as joined together in a compound as is obvious from the expression "lightning princesses named Meghalatā". But it is equally possible to take that the verse refers to two distinct classes of celestical beings known respectively as Meghalatā and Vijjukumārī. 'Cloud-damsel' and 'Lightning-princes' are both appellations of personified natural phenomena and it is rather inappropriate for one to be taken as a proper name and the other as a generic name, as the commentator has done. I would therefore take the old verse as saying that the walls of the relic-chamber were adorned with figures of 'Cloud-damsels' and 'Lightning-princesses'.

The verse from the *Porāṇā* does not expressly state that the representation of the figures of the 'Cloud-damsels' and the "Lightning-princesses" was done by painting them. The word used is *parikkhipi* 'placed round". The *Mahāvaṁsa* on the other hand used the word *appitā* which can be interpreted as 'painted'. See *arpita* (the Sanskrit equivalent of P. *appita*) in Monier-Williams Dictionary. It is reasonable to assume that the representation of figures on a wall was done by painting rather than by any other method. Whether we give credence to the account in the *Mahāvaṁsa* and the *Porāṇā* that the relic-chamber was so decorated, or not, is immaterial for our present purpose. What the reference establishes is that at the date of the composition of the *Mahāvaṁsa,* and in somewhat earlier times, the representation of 'Lightning-damsels' (*Vijju-latā*) [8]) or 'Lightning-princesses' (*Vijju-kumāriyo*) and 'Cloud-damsels' (*Megha-latā*) was considered to be a well known method of decorating a wall surface.

No other reference to 'Lightning-princesses' and 'Cloud-damsels' is known to me from Pali or Sanskrit literature. Nor do I know of any figures recognised as such in a painting or a sculpture in India and Ceylon. The fact that they have not been so recognised does not

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7) *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī,* P.T.S. Edition, Vol. II, p. 549.

8) The word *latā,* in addition to its well-known meaning of 'creeper', also signifies 'a woman'. See MONIER-WILLIAM's *Dictionary,* s.v.

neccessarily mean that they were not represented in art in India and the countries culturally influenced by India.

If it be conceded that the representation of 'Cloud-damsels' and 'Lightning-princesses' was a recognised method of decorating wall surfaces at the time when the palace on the summit of Sīgiri rock was built, there is no valid argument against the assumption that this motif was adopted in adorning the face of the rock with paintings. And the figures in the Sīgiri paintings can reasonably be taken to correspond to the form in which these celestial beings were most probably conceived in the popular imagination. As Dr. Coomaraswamy has pointed out, these figures are cut off by clouds a little below the waist. They in fact appear to be rising from the clouds. Some of the figures are yellow in complexion and the others are green. The figures which are yellow in colour, referred to in the graffiti as 'golden-coloured ones', may very well be the 'Lightning-princesses'. Green and blue are not differentiated in the Sinhalese language, both being expressed by the word *nil* (Skt. *nīla*) and the rain-cloud is described as blue (*nil* or *nila*) in Sinhalese as well as Sanskrit poetry. Those figures referred to in the graffiti as 'lily-coloured ones' may therefore be taken as the 'Cloud-damsels'. The association with the cloud is quite appropriate to both.

The preserved figures at Sīgiri either rain down flowers, carry them in trays, or hold them in their hands. Their head-dresses are profusely laden with flowers. The graffiti refer to other figures as holding sprouts in addition to flowers. The flowers and the sprouts are symbols of fertility and are quite in keeping with the character of beings associated with the phenomenon of rain.

In one of the Sinhalese verses scribbled on the gallery wall, the women depicted in the painting are referred to as 'noble women comparable unto lightning-damsels'. The word used is *Vij-liya* which exactly corresponds to *Vijjulatā* of the *Mahāvaṁsa*.

On the strength of the foregoing, I venture to reply as follows to the question asked by Vajravarman in the Sanskrit stanza quoted at the beginning of this article: The damsel of golden complexion is a 'Lightning-princess'. She of dark hue is a 'Cloud-damsel'.

ERUCAKRA — VAIROCANA

by

THEODORE PIGEAUD

Wassenaar

In most fields of study the investigator of the origin of present day Javanese civilization finds himself opposed by a bewildering mass of notions, belonging to the three successive ages of Javanese history, i.e. aboriginal Indonesian (to be compared with Polynesian), Hinduistic and Muhammadan. It is a fascinating task for the historian of civilization to note the ideas and the names that survived the religious and social changes of these three ages, especially if he is able to point out the causes that gave those elements of culture, in preference to many others, so much resistance and vitality.

Messianic expectations about a righteous king, reigning in a kingdom that is to come, either in a near or in a remote future, form a part of the religious and social notions of many nations. The Javanese too have their ideas about the future righteous king and his forerunners.

There is reason to believe that messianic expectations have been fostered by the Javanese from an early date in history, even in the aboriginal Indonesian age. Nevertheless, in the pre-Muhammadan period, i.e. before the 16th century, messianic prophecies do not seem to have taken an important place in Javanese literature. In the beginning of the Muslim era of Javanese history, in the 16th and 17th centuries, however, Muhammadan eschatology made a deep impression on the Javanese mind, and from that period dates the line of prophetical literature, composed of a mixture of Muhammadan and pre-Muhammadan ideas. Probably, the religious, social and political commotions of the 16th and 17th centuries, viz. the distintegration of the ancient Hinduistic religious system, Çivaitic and Tantric, and the victory of Islam, the economical upheaval that was a result of European penetration, and the downfall of the dynasty of kings of Majapahit (Eastern Java) that had lasted for nearly three hundred years, activated the nation's belief, before that period not loudly outspoken, that the age was nearing its end, and that the righteous king who would set aright what was wrong with the world was coming.

The Javanese literators gave the nation's beliefs and expectations on this point the form of prophecies that are put into the mouth of some mythical king of antiquity. The specimina of this Javanese prophetical literature that are most widely spread at present have king Jayabhaya of Keḍiri (Eastern Java) for their eponym, and for that reason the whole literary genre commonly is called at present the prophecies of Jayabhaya.

The reason of king Jayabhaya of Keḍiri, who flourished in the 12th century, being chosen for an eponym of messianic prophecies, and made into a prophet of future times by the Javanese literators some five hundred years after his death, is known. I shall not discuss it at present, however, intending in this paper to point out another remarkable case of survival of an ancient name occurring in prophecies that are composed in the 16th or 17th century.

In the prophecies of Jayabhaya the name of the righteous king who is to come when the age is nearing its end is given as Erucakra. As a consequence, in the 18th and 19th centuries at least two Javanese princes who were aspirants for empire have taken the name Erucakra, hoping by this means to win the support of the masses who expected the coming of the righteous king. As a matter of fact, in the past three centuries there have been a great many ambitious men in Java who styled themselves righteous kings, or forerunners of the righteous king who was expected by the people. Most of them succeeded, at least for some time, in collecting a following of some sort. This occurred so frequently that scholars have learned to regard messianic movements as inherent to the religiosity of the Javanese masses in some parts of the country, where a peculiar blend of Muslim mystical ideas and pre-Muhammadan, partly even pre-Hinduistic religious and social notions is most popular. This is the case mainly in the central and eastern parts of the island, even in the parts that both in ancient and in modern times were the scenes of the most important religious and cultural movements in Javanese history, and the domain of the most powerful dynasties.

Nevertheless, the name Erucakra seems to have been taken only by some aspirants for empire who were of royal blood. Probably it was deemed too august a name for commoners. The first of the princes who is known to have taken the name was Dipanagara, a younger son of Pakubuwana I of Kartasura (Central Java), whose reign fell in the beginning of the 18th century. Dr Brandes, who was the first to point out the fact (in a paper published in the Journal of the Batavian Society, vol. XXII), did not fail to notice the connection existing between the name Erucakra, the prophecies of Jayabhaya and the eastern and central parts of Java. For some time this Erucakra I Dipanagara of Kartasura held sway over the province of Madiun; in the end he was defeated, however. He died in exile at the Cape. Erucakra as a name, portending fanatical strife against the powers that be, both Javanese and European, only became well known to the public, though, when another Dipanagara, a prince of Yogyakarta, took that name, more than a century afterwards. It is probable, though not proven, that this Erucakra II Dipanagara of Yogyakarta intended in a way to improve on the career of his far kinsman who had failed as a righteous king. Dipanagara of Yogyakarta succeeded indeed in dragging out a devastating guerilla for five years. He died in exile like his forbear.

In view of the importance of the name Erucakra, taken by Dipanagara of Yogyakarta, Dutch scholars repeatedly have tried to find its origin and meaning. Whereas the meaning of the second part of the compound is clear, the first part proved difficult to explain. Dipanagara himself spelled it, with Arabic characters, like the Arabic word chair خير, meaning good. It seems rather improbable, though, that this is the true explanation of the

dissyllable eru, as the Arabic word خير is very seldom met with in Javanese, and moreover, it would be pronounced by the Javanese like kèr (cf. kabar from chabar خبر), not like eru at all. Other explanations, offered by Dutch scholars, seem more improbable yet. Dr Brandes accepted a Javanese gloss for eru: jewel, and translated Erucakra: Jewel of the World. This gloss is at the least dubious, and moreover, the meaning of the name Erucakra, thus explained, does not seem to warrant the importance attached to it in the prophecies of Jayabhaya.

Therefore I may be allowed to venture another explanation of the name Erucakra, connecting it with Vairocana, the Dhyāni-Buddha. It seems rather hazardous indeed to suspect some Javanese Muslim political pretenders of the 18th and 19th centuries to have taken the name of a Dhyāni-Buddha of the Tantric pantheon. I think it possible, however, to make probable that this is the true explanation of the name Erucakra.

Linguistically, it is to be supposed that the true etymology of the name Vairocana has been forgotten by the Javanese literators for a very long time. As a consequence they splitted up the quadrisyllable into two dissyllables, which is in accordance with Javanese linguistics. In the change of vairo into eru only the initial seems to present some difficulty. The Javanese language possesses at least two synonyms, though, that present the same variation: wéra and éra (in mata-éra), both meaning wide. The first two syllables of the name Erucakra may be accounted for satisfactorily in this way.

To explain the change of the dissyllable cana into cakra one must bear in mind that, whereas cana has no meaning in Javanese, cakra is a well-known word, conveying the idea of empire (cf. cakrawartin). The author or the authors of the prophecies of Jayabhaya in the 16th or 17th century may have substituted cakra for cana, because cakra was deemed a suitable ending for a ruler's name. It is possible, too, that the literators of the 16th and 17th centuries misread in some old manuscript the name Erucana (perhaps spelled in Javanese script Erucaṇa, the Javanese scribes being wont, out of courtesy, to substitute the longer characters for the shorter ones), reading it Erucaka, and emending this aptly into Erucakra.

However this may have been, I think it is not too improbable to assume that the name Erucakra for the righteous king in the prophecies of Jayabhaya originally either was a development of the name Vairocana or a corruption of it.

Historically, this assumption affords a plausible explanation of the fact that the name Erucakra was given by literators of the 16th and 17th centuries to the righteous king of the people's messianic expectations. Vairocana is well known as the principal Dhyāni-Buddha of the Tantric pantheon. It is doubtful, however, if Javanese literators of the 16th and 17th century, in the beginning of the Muslim age, were aware of the fact. Probably they were familiar with the name Vairocana (or with some corruption of it) on account of its being mentioned in Javanese Buddhistic devotional literature of a popular kind.

We may suppose, perhaps, that the legend of Kuñjarakarṇa has been the text that was mainly instrumental in making popular Vairocana as a great power making for peace and universal happiness in this world and hereafter. The legend of Kuñjarakarṇa has been edited and translated from the original Javanese into Dutch by Professor Kern (in 1901, Works, vol. X). Professor Kern thought the text dated from the end of the 14th century.

Probably the story in itself is older, though, for it has been recognized in a relief on the wall of an East-Javanese temple of the 13th century.

The legend of Kuñjarakarṇa is a rather simple story of a yakṣa Kuñjarakarṇa and a gandharwa Pūrṇavijaya who received instruction from Vairocana and so were released from hell. In this legend, apparently meant as devotional reading for pious Buddhists, Vairocana clearly appears as a powerful redeemer and saviour. On this account it is not improbable that in after-ages, when Vairocana's identity as a Dhyāni-Buddha was forgotten, Muslim readers identified him with the righteous king who was to set right what was wrong with the world according to popular Javanese messianic expections.

The identification of a Dhyāni-Buddha with a Muslim Javanese messiah seems rather strange at first. The connection of popular Tantrism and Islam is not without precedent, though. In some texts of the prophecies of Jayabhaya one of the forerunners of Erucakra is called Tuñjung Putih, i.e. White Lotos. This name sounds Tantric. In some Javanese wayang-plays of the 18th or 19th century a white lotos growing on a rock is mentioned. In the end this miraculous flower turns out to be either the prince or the princess who was lost just at the time that his or her presence was sorely needed to give relief in some great distress. The quest of the white lotos is the principal subject-matter of these plays. It seems not too difficult to reduce this quest motif to a yearning after union and absorption, which is mystic. Probably the white lotos growing on a rock has been taken up by some holy man in his lessons as a symbol for the aim of mystical aspirations. From the parlance of the holy men of Java, professing a popular Muslim mysticism, not a few words and ideas have passed into Javanese dramatical literature. In this way the connection between the White Lotos of the prophecies, the Tantric lotos and the white lotos of the playwrights might be established.

In India too, Buddhism, or rather Tantrism, and Islam seem to have been not incompatible at a certain period.

Next to mysticism, messianic expectations form a deep current in the Javanese soul. Neither mysticism nor messianic expectations are strictly bound up with any positive confession. To acquire an insight into the grounds of the Javanese people's conversion to Islam, one has to bear in mind that the holy men who preached Islam in the 16th century, next to being mystics, where well conversant with the nation's ancient religious and social aspirations and expectations. The holy men's preaching of Islam found its entrance into the Javanese soul made easy by the people's preparedness to listen to any teaching appealing to its sense for mysticism and giving an answer to its messianic expectations.

Concluding, I hope to have made probable that the Erucakra of Javanese history and literature must be seen in connection with the Dhyāni-Buddha Vairocana of Tantrism. This connection is an instance of the blending of Buddhist and Tantric notions with Muslim ones, which took place in Java in the 16th and 17th centuries. Erucakra-Vairocana's survival in Javanese civilization until the 19th century has been effected by the people's ancient messianic expectations carrying along, far into the Muslim age, the name of a Dhyāni-Buddha, once worshipped as the central deity in Tantric ceremonies, long since forgotten.

THE MINARET IN JAVA

by

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Batavia

> "But hark, the vesper call to prayer,
> As slow the orb of daylight sets,
> Is rising sweetly on the air,
> From Syria's thousand minarets."
>
> Th. MOORE, *Paradise and the Peri.*

One of the most beautiful institutions of the Islam is the fact that the call to prayer in the mosque is performed by the human voice. Five times daily the voice of the muezzin (Arabic: *mu'adhdhin*) is sounded from high up the tower constructed for that very purpose, close to the mosque. This is the minaret (Arabic: *manāra*), and any one in the orient who at times has listened to this call to the Moslem prayer can testify to the impressiveness of this religious chant. It affected Byron, as is evident from a note in his poem "The Giaour": "on a still evening, when the muezzin has a fine voice, which is frequently the case, the effect is solemn and beautiful beyond all the bells in Christendom".

But it is not only the call to prayer by the human voice that is admirable, but also the minaret itself has been a happy find from an architectural point of view. Nor does it greatly matter that the minaret, as is evident from the history of religions and of architecture, was not an original find of Islam, but that it has had its predecessor in the sacred towers of older religions [1]). The minarets, rising high above their surroundings, in Moslem countries have given a special character both to the countryside and to the town.

In the Island of Java, a Moslem country for centuries past, mosques, as everywhere else, have their minarets, but they are not characteristic features of the Javanese village or the Javanese town. This is to be attributed to various causes, perhaps mainly to the way in which the mosques in Java are constructed.

The Islam in the Indonesian Archipelago has produced its own type of mosque, a type

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1) Compare, for example, Th. DOMBART, *Der Sakralturm, I. Teil: Zikkurat*, München 1920.

that differs fundamentally from the mosque as constructed in other Moslem countries. This Indonesian type originated in Java, so that one might refer to it as the Javanese type.

Distinct characteristics of the mosque in Java in its present form are:

1. its ground-plan is a square;
2. it does not stand on poles, as does the old Indonesian dwelling and the smaller Indonesian prayer house (Javanese: *langgar*; Sundanese: *tadjug*; in Bantam: *bale*) but on an elevated massive fundament;
3. it has a pointed roof, consisting of from two to five stories, narrowing upward;
4. it has an extension to the western or northwestern side, provided for the *miḥrāb*;
5. it has a veranda, either on the front or on the side also, called by the Javanese *surambi* or *srambi*, and by the Sundanese *tĕpas masdjid*;
6. the open space around the mosque is enclosed by a wall with only one entrance, a gate in front.

From these distinct characteristics it may be concluded that the Javanese mosque is not a foreign structure brought to this country by Islam missionaries from abroad, but an ancient native one adapted to the requirements of the Moslem worship.

The square ground-plan is well known from the many structures of Hindu-Javanese art, the *tjaṇḍi*, still to be found in Java. Furthermore, if one may distinguish in the *tjaṇḍi* three divisions,namely the base, the temple as such, and the roofing [2]), it will not be difficult to see in the raised massive fundament of any mosque the survival of the base of the *tjaṇḍi*. This fundament is never lacking in a mosque, whereas the other building devoted to Moslem worship, the *langgar*. *tadjug*, *bale*, is always elevated on poles, thus still following the old Indonesian construction, also in those parts of Java where the dwellings long since have ceased to be built on poles, but on the ground.

The roof of the mosque, consisting of several stories and ending in a point which is crowned by a peculiar adornment, clearly indicates that it originated in the pre-Islamic period. This shape of roof is found on many structures that have no connection with the Islam: we need but refer to the *meru* in Bali, a square tower narrowing upward, having from five up to ten and more stories in the roof (Balinese: *tumpang*). It is possible that such high towers formerly were also to be found in Java, but if they were constructed from the same transitory material as are those in Bali, they obviously must have disappeared. Perhaps the stacked roof on some mosques in Java is a survival of the *meru*, in which case we may think primarily of the old mosque at Bantĕn, which dates from the time of the Sultans of Bantam (Bantĕn), and in its present shape probably dates from the 16th century [3]); the roof of this

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2) See N. J. KROM, *Het oude Java en zijn kunst*, Haarlem 1923, p. 67 et seq.

3) That the mosque of Bantĕn towards the end of the 16th century had the same dimensions as it has today, I conclude from two items in the description of this mosque given by Jacob van Neck. He says of it, firstly, that it is "ghemaect in quadraet, omtrent 25 treeden breet en sooveel ander lanck". I had to make 28 large paces. Secondly he says of the wall of the mosque, that it "anderhalf vadem hooch, is van ghebacken steen". The brick

mosque consists of five stories, the three topmost being equally small. François Valentijn, who visited Bantĕn in the year 1694, says that the mosque is „voorzien van vijf verdiepingen of daken" (provided with five stories or roofs) [4]). At present in Java the largest number of roof stories of a mosque is five, the smallest number being two. Five roofs are, as far as I am aware, only found on the mosque at Bantĕn, whereas the mosques in the neighbouring places, out of reverence for that sacred structure, have all of them one or two stories less. But that formerly there were more mosques with five roofs is quite evident from the description and pictures of the mosque at Japara by the 17th century traveller Wouter Schouten who describes the upper portion of the "Mosschita" as consisting of "vier of vijf platte boven malkander komende Daecken/Torensgewijse gebouwt" (four or five flat roofs superimposed one upon the other, built in the shape of a tower) [5]). The unfolding engraving in his book, representing 'De Stadt I A P A R E op groot Java" (the city of Iapare in Great Java) [6]), as seen from the sea, represents a mosque with five roofs; and on the picture, stated to be "Der Moren TEMPEL Binnen de Stadt I A P A RE" (the temple of the Moors within the city of Iapare) [7]), one sees this mosque at closer range, with its somewhat Chinese looking five roofs, on top of which there is furthermore a spire. Wouter Schouten just happened to be at Japara in time, seeing that another traveller, Nicolaus de Graaff, describing Japara in 1686, says of the mosque: „De *Konings Tempel* is bijkans als die van *Bantam*, drie kappen hoog boven malkanderen" (the King's Temple is almost like the one of Bantam, three stories high, one over the other) [8]). Evidently the five roofs had already been reduced to three, the number of mosque roofs nowadays most frequently met with in Java, in which connection it should be remembered that the Islam is rather partial to odd numbers, such as one, three, or five.

Besides the roof, one of the very ancient fixed characteristics of the mosques in Java is the wall surrounding the enclosure. It is only in the towns, where space was somewhat scarce, that this rule was sometimes disregarded; but wherever one finds the pure type of the Javanese mosque, this wall is to be found, separating the *temenos* from the profane soil. In front there is a gateway the type of which may vary: we may find the so-called "split gate", not roofed over, but also the gate that is roofed over (Javanese: *gapurå*, Sk. *gopura*), which latter has sometimes developed, but almost exclusively in East Java, into a high porch struc-

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walls of the mosque are not higher now than at the most 2.5 metres, that is about "anderhalf vadem". See *Reisverhaal van Jacob van Neck* (1598-1599), communicated by H. T. COLENBRANDER, in *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap (gevestigd te Utrecht)*, vol. 21, Amsterdam 1900, p. 300; re-issued as *De Tweede Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacob Cornelisz. van Neck en Wybrant Warwyck*, 1598-1600, vol. 1, The Hague 1938, p. 86 et seq. (*Werken der Linschoten Vereeniging* XLII).

4) VALENTIJN, *Beschrijving van Groot Djava ofte Java Major*, etc., vol. 4, Dordrecht-Amsterdam 1726, p. 215.

5) Wouter SCHOUTEN, *Oost Indische Voyagie*, Amsterdam 1676, p. 39.

6) SCHOUTEN, *id.*, facing page 36

7) SCHOUTEN, *id.*, facing page 40.

8) Nicolaus de GRAAFF, *Reisen*, Hoorn etc. 1701, p. 200.

ture to which I shall refer later in connection with the minaret. Now the surrounding wall has nothing that can be called a Moslem feature, but it does remind one of the construction of the village temple in Bali, the *pura desa,* often consisting of three courts surrounded by walls. This grouping of a sanctuary into walled-in courts has fairly accurately been preserved in Java in the construction of some of those sacred old tombs to which a mosque is attached, as for example the sacred tomb of Sunan Ampèl (Radèn Raḥmat) at Sourabaia, where the actual tomb is situated in the last of the three courts, next to the mosque. The lay-out of the sanctuary of Tembajat or Bajat in Surakarta is as follows: first the mosque, then a few courts one behind the other, and then the tomb structure. Other graves arranged with separately walled courts for mosque and mausoleum are the sanctuary of Sunan Giri near Grissee, that of Sunan Pĕdjagung south of Tuban, and that of Ratu Kalinjamat at Mantingan near Japara. Smaller sanctuaries sometimes consist of two courts: first the mosque within a walled enclosure, and behind it, accessible by means of a gateway next to the mosque, the sacred grave, also within a walled space, as, for example, at Djatinom, Surakarta.

The veranda, now built in front of nearly every mosque, seems to have been a later addition to the architecture of the mosque. This is indicated by the fact that architecturally it has still a roof of its own, not forming a junction with the mosque as such; there is a wall between the veranda and the mosque, doors in the front wall giving access to the interior. Another important point is that the oldest descriptions make no mention of it, nor does it appear on the oldest pictures. It is furthermore to be noted that mosques built by Arabs or under Arab influence are without a veranda. There is none, for example, at most of the mosques in Batavia, in which city the religious influence of the Arabs has always been considerable; also in other cities where Arabs have built mosques of their own and in their own style, no veranda is to be met with. But the most important argument is that the *surambi* to this very day is used for other purposes than is the interior of the mosque. The interior, in the language of the believers, is called *muṣallā,* that is to say the place where the religious services are held, whereas the *surambi* is used for such things as religious meals, marriage ceremonies (where there is no special building for that pupose), and meetings, of various kinds. It is a point of theological dispute whether the *surambi* is part of the mosque. It depends upon the answer to this question whether the religious retreat (*iʿtikāf*) which, according to the Law, must take place within the mosque, is valid if it is performed on the veranda. Nor would the same rules of proper conduct prescribed for the presence in the mosque, be applicable also to the veranda if it does not pertain to the mosque. From all this it is evident that the *surambi,* however indispensable a part it may be nowadays, has been a later addition to the original square mosque.

Another item that is foreign to the old national form of the mosque is the small square extension on the north or northwest side, called in Arabic *miḥrāb.* Seen from within, the *miḥrāb* looks like a niche. As is well known, the *miḥrāb* is to be found in all Moslem countries: its purpose is to indicate the direction (*qibla*) for the ritualistic divine service, and to be occupied by the leader in prayer, the *imām.* It is peculiar to many mosques in Java that they have two such niches close together, one being the *miḥrāb* proper, called in Java-

nese *pangimaman* and in Sundanese *paimaman* (i.e. the place for the *imām*), whilst the other niche contains the *minbar*, the pulpit, called in Javanese *pangimbaran* and in Sundanese *paimbaran* (i.e. the place of the *minbar*). There are even mosques that have three niches, one next to the other [9]).

From the above description of the six special characteristics of the mosque in Java it will be clear that it is a product of the national architecture adapted to the requirements of the Moslem religious service. The minaret, a structure of foreign origin, does not pertain to the Javanese style of architecture in which the horizontal line predominates, whereas the proudly erect minaret is figured on the effect of the vertical line. To realize this fact one need only regard the silhouette, in the moonlight, of the majestic mosque of the Sultans of Jogjakarta, in which, through the horizontal line of the *surambi* and those of the main structure, gradually reaching higher, the actual mosque with its three mighty roof-stories leaves the impression of perfect repose.

Yet minarets have been built in Java, and in the course of the past several decades their number has constantly increased. This desire to build them is to be explained mainly by the wish to be decorative, rather than by the religious requirements. As regards these latter, also in those mosques that do have a minaret, one follows the old custom of chanting the call to prayer (Arabic: *adhān*) from the entrance of the mosque or from one of the stories in the roofing; or else the minaret is used only for the two *adhān* to one or two of the five daily prayers. But on Fridays, when the congregation is called to the solemn midday service (Arabic: *ṣalāt al-djumʿah*), it seems that only the minaret is used to that end. Moreover, it is the custom in some places to use the minaret for the *adhān* to all prayer meetings in the month of the fast, the month of *Ramaḍān*.

The history of the minaret in Java is comparatively recent. The oldest mosques we know of have no minaret. Whilst writing this down I am becoming aware that I ought to indicate what mosques are included in this statement. Our investigation, however, has not yet advanced so far that a complete list can be given. On the basis of the current notion that the Islam was brought to this country from the north across the sea, I am looking for the oldest Moslem settlements along the north coast, preferably in the cities in the plains. The first Moslem communities obviously were but small, and so were also their mosques. There are only few of these small mosques left, most of them having been replaced by larger ones when the congregations increased. Neither at Sourabaia nor at Grissee, nor at Tuban, Dĕmak, or Japara, all of them old Moslem settlements known as such from history, are such small mosques still to be found. Only at Cheribon there are two that with certainty can be counted amongst the very old ones: the *Masdjid Agung* and the mosque in the Pandjunan quarter. The *Masdjid Agung*, i.e. the Great Mosque, which is regarded as being specially sacred [10]), has the architectural peculiarity that it is built around and over a still older and

9) Indian influence? See DIEZ, *Miḥrāb*, in *Enzyklopaedie des Islām*, vol. III, Leiden 1936, p. 564; *Handwörterbuch des Islam*, publ. by A. J. WENSINCK & J. H. KRAMERS, Leiden 1941, p. 502.

10) See G. F. PIJPER, *Fragmenta Islamica. Studiën over het Islamisme in Nederlandsch-Indië*, Leiden 1934, p. 98.

smaller mosque which looks like a square structure of red brick, about 3 yards high, with an extension for the *miḥrāb* and with five small gateways [11]. The mosque in the Pandjunan quarter, known on account of its Hindu-Javanese front wall, is supposed to be still older than the *Masdjid Agung*. Also here we have the square structure of red brick in which the front wall is lacking, which makes us think of the architectural style of some old-fashioned *langgars* [12]. A spacious *surambi* was built in front of it. The restoration of the entire mosque, completed in 1940 [13], included also the *surambi*: this may have been unavoidable, but it carries with it the risk that later this *surambi* may be regarded as being as old as the mosque itself, which cannot be true. Not only does the history of the architectural style of the mosques in Java fail to countenance such a conception, but it is also against the tradition: the Chief Panghulu of Cheribon, with whom I visited this mosque for the first time in 1930, told me that the *surambi* had only been put there when his grand-father was in function, about 80 years previously.

,Besides in the cities of the coastal plain, the oldest mosques must, I believe, also be looked for in the present Moslem sanctuaries situated on the hill tops and elevations along the coast. For there are whole series of mosques usually close to sacred tombs, on elevated points along the north coast: Giri, Sĕnḍang Ḍuwur, Bonang (near Lasĕm), Gunung Sĕmbung, Gunung Djati; also the less well known Gunung Santri near Bodjanĕgara in Bantĕn belongs thereto, although it has only a sacred tomb and no mosque. It can readily be assumed that these sacred spots are old mountain sanctuaries dating from pagan times and embodied in the Islam, just as in the interior there are so many mountain sanctuaries, now Moslem, dating from the pre-Islamic period. None of these mosques has a minaret.

The oldest minaret in Java is supposed to be the so-called *Mĕnårå* at Kudus. This highly remarkable structure in pure Hindu-Javanese style, has already been described in detail by Brumund [14] and by Krom [15], so that I will refrain from doing so. Krom estimates the *mĕnårå* as dating from the early 16th century [16]. But was the *mĕnårå* originally a minaret? First of all it is strange that this fine building, if it had already been destined to serve as a minaret in the 16th century, has never been copied; all the older minarets are built in a foreign style, and not in the national Javanese style. In the second place it is remarkable that the *mĕnårå* at Kudus contains a large *bĕḍug*, that is to say a drum which is beaten a few times, according to the old custom in Java, to announce the time of prayer, even before the *adhān* is chanted. Now the *bĕḍug* is old Indonesian, and the beating of

11) This older mosque I have dealt with to some extent in *Fragmenta Islamica*, p. 44.

12) See *Fragmenta Islamica*, pp. 39, 43, 98.

13) See *Oudheidkundig Verslag 1940, Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië*, Batavia 1941, p. 17; pictures of the renovated mosque: figs. 46 48.

14) J. F. G. Brumund, *Bijdragen tot de kennis van het Hindoeïsme op Java*, Batavia 1868, p. 69 et seq.

15) N. J. Krom, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche kunst*, 2nd ed., The Hague 1923, vol. 2, p. 429 (description); vol. 3, picture 106; Krom, *Het oude Java en zijn kunst*, Haarlem 1923, p. 179 et seq. (description), picture 7.

16) Krom, *Inleiding*, vol. 2, p 429.

this signal drum originally had no connection with the Islam. Elsewhere the *bědug* is not found in the minaret, it being placed as a rule in the *surambi*, sometimes in the interior of the mosque, or else in a separate small structure in the courtyard of the mosque. In East Java the *bědug* is often placed in the upper story of the gate structure, called *gapurå*, only to be found in those parts, that separates the courtyard of the mosque from the road: a gate structure, square, with an upper story, the roof of which rests upon four poles, so that this upper story is open on all sides. This peculiar *gapurå* is not a minaret, which may be deduced from the fact that in the same courtyard there is sometimes also a minaret. The building style of this *gapurå* rather reminds one of the *kulkul* towers to be found in Bali in or near the *pura desa*, sometimes built on top of the temple wall. In Java I found this peculiar *gapurå* westward as far as Lasěm, eastward especially in the „Oosthoek", i.e. the narrow region of Java east of Sourabaia. The "Oosthoek", as is well known, has remained Hindu until in the 18th century, so that here one may still expect to find a few remnants of Hinduism. The *měnårå* of Kudus does not seem to me to be a minaret, but rather a Hindu structure corresponding in style and in purpose to the present, and indeed far less beautiful, *gapurå* of East Java, which in its turn is again related to the *kulkul* tower of Bali.

The oldest minaret in Java is probably that of Bantěn, a clumsy white hectagonal tower standing in front of the mosque of the Sultans of Bantam. This colossus, visible from afar, reminds one of a Dutch lighthouse, and tradition has it that it was built by a Dutch architect. This tradition may well be based upon fact, for it is historically correct that the castle of the Sultans, now disappeared, was built by a Netherlander, Lucas Cardeel, and the still existing structure, called *Tiama*, south of the mosque, must also have been the work of a Dutch architect. But from what period dates the minaret? Valentijn, when he visited there in 1694, did not notice the minaret, and also the large unfolding picture in his book, representing "De Stad Bantam" (the city of Bantam), shows no minaret [17]. Wouter Schouten, on the other hand, who was here before Valentijn, states that he had seen "een of meer hoogh uytstekende torens" (one or more high reaching towers) near the mosques at Ternate, Macassar, Japara, and Bantam [18]. *Non liquet.*

Amongst the ancient buildings in the Bantam region there is still another tower that is regarded as a minaret, though the adjoining mosque has disappeared. It is a square structure, and much lower than that in front of the Sultans' mosque [19]. The style reminds one of that of the minaret near the mosque at Kasunjatan, situated at a short distance from the former city of Bantěm. Also this minaret of Kasunjatan dates definitely from the time of the Bantam State. Stutterheim thought he could discern Portuguese influence in connection with these two minarets [20].

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17) VALENTIJN, *Beschrijving van Groot Djava ofte Java Major*, etc., facing p. 240.

18) SCHOUTEN, *Oost-Indische Voyagie*, Amsterdam 1676, Derde Boeck, p. 79.

19) Reproduction by G. P. GROENHOF, *Eenige geschiedkundige plaatsen in Bantam*, Batavia 1920, picture 12a.

20) W. F. STUTTERHEIM in *Oudheidkundig Verslag over 1940*. Batavia 1941, p. 8.

After the Dutch and the Portuguese influence, the Arabian! In the course of the 19th century, when the number of Arabs settling in Java constantly increased, minarets made their appearance in the principal cities containing Arabian colonies carefully following the type prevailing in their native country, i.e. the territory of Ḥaḍramaut in southern Arabia. In Ḥaḍramaut—as I have been told by Arabs from there—each mosque always has one minaret. The Ḥaḍramaut minaret as a rule is round, but sometimes it is square, narrowing as it rises, and ending in a blunt apex. It is uniformly whitewashed, and its shaft is smooth and as a rule without adornments. This uniformity is only broken near the top by window openings that sometimes are provided with tiny pillars. Those who remember the Arabian minaret from its descriptions and pictures [21]) will readily recognize it at Batavia in the minaret of the mosque in the Pĕkodjan quarter (formerly an Arabian district), at Sourabaia in the mosque at Ampèl which must date from before the year 1862 [22]). The pure Ḥaḍramaut type of minaret, however, is not often met with, not even near the mosques built by Arabs. So we find near the Arab mosque at Cheribon, called *Masdjid al-Nūr,* a fairly low and ungainly square structure with glass windows in the upper story whence the *mu'adhdhin* calls to all five daily *ṣalāts.* Various mosques built by Arabs have nothing architecturally that is Arabian, but they have been constructed in this country's style, and often without minaret.

Most of the other minarets in Java are not built in one particular style, but in some points indicate foreign influence. Many minarets, especially those in the smaller towns, do not dominate, and hardly protrude beyond the roof of the mosque. Not everywhere in Java the material of which the mosque is built is brick: there are also mosques of wood and of bamboo, and the minaret follows the mosque in that respect. Village mosques often have minarets of such transitory material, but also the minaret near the sanctuary of Pamidjahan [23]) is constructed of wood and bamboo. Sometimes the minaret is not a separate structure, but emerges from the roof of the mosque in the shape of a towerlet. In the Preangan Regencies the word *munara* (the Sundanese form of the Arabic *manāra*) is also applied to a small wooden building with an upper story, standing beside the village mosque: below there is space for the ritual ablution (Arabic: *wuḍū'*; Sundanese: *wulu, abdas*), the upper story containing the *bĕdug,* the drum, and one or more *kohkols,* wooden signal blocks. Such *munaras* do not exhibit anything that is artistic, being constructed merely from the point of view of utility, but even so, they are always more picturesque than are the tasteless iron minarets that have been disfiguring the mosques at Kuningan and at Dĕmak these past several years. Stutterheim compared the iron minaret at Dĕmak with the diving structure in a swimming bath [24]).

21) Numerous reproductions of minarets of Ḥaḍramaut in H. HELFRITZ, *Chicago der Wüste,* 2nd ed., Berlin o. J., and in Freya STARK, *The Southern Gates of Arabia. a journey in the Hadramaut,* without place or date.

22) BRUMUND refers to it in *Bijdragen tot de kennis van het Hindoeïsme op Java,* Batavia 1868, p. 170. BRUMUND travelled in Java in 1862.

23) See my *Fragmenta Islamica,* p. 40 et seq.

24) W. F. STUTTERHEIM, *Oudheidkundig Verslag over 1940,* p. 8.

Though they are not structures of utility, there are two graceful minarets at Surakarta that are of princely magnificence: one stands near the mosque of the Mangkunagårå, having been built in 1925, and the other in front of the mosque of the Susuhunan, dating from 1930. It is more especially this latter one that has architectural value. It is 28.84 metres high, has a square base, on which follows an hexagonal portion, whilst the ribbed shaft is round; the top has the shape of a cupola. It is not uniformly white, as are most minarets, but varieties of differently coloured stone alternate. It seems to be a happy imitation of Indian models.

There is still another minaret in Java that apparently is an imitation of a famous Indian model, namely the minaret of the mosque of Kĕmajoran in the city of Sourabaia. This looks like an imitation, be it from afar and on a reduced scale, of the Quṭb Minār, one of the most famous monuments of Delhi, or even of India [25]).

One is apt to ask, upon seeing all these imitations, whether the architecture of Java has not produced any minarets of original design? These do exist, and I am not referring so much to the rather primitive minarets pertaining to the mosques in the native villages, but rather to the remarkable structural design to be found especially in the principal cities of the Preangan Regencies, as Sukabumi, Garut, Tasikmalaja, but also elsewhere in Java and in Madura (Pamĕkasan), where we find two stately square minarets flanking the façade of the mosque, thus broadening the front of the edifice and making it seem higher. This method of building *two* minarets may be attributed to the Indonesian preference for symmetry. True, the custom of building two minarets to a mosque prevails in the whole of Persia and Turkestan [26]), but it is hardly possible to speak here of borrowing, seeing that this same style of construction in Java dates from only 50 or 60 years past, when there was decidedly no cultural influence on Java from those countries. We are still able to follow this development to some extent: on a photographic reproduction of the mosque at Garut, which must have been made between 1860 and 1880 [27]), this mosque is still to be seen without its side-wings. The mosque at Manondjaja, the old capital of the former Regency of Sukapura, already in the early years of this century was adorned with two monumental minarets, and this was subsequently imitated by the mosque of the new capital, Tasikmalaja: on a photograph dating from about 1920 also this latter mosque is to be seen with two heavy square minarets with cupola-shaped tops. Then came Garut when its mosque was reconstructed in 1923 and 1924. The practical sense of the Sundanese has caused the ground floor of one of these *munaras* to be used as an office for the contracting of marriages, and made that of the other *munara* a place where women can attend unseen the religious service in the mosque. From these main cities this fashion of building two minarets spread to the interior, so that in the Preangan region there are even village mosques that have two minarets. It is a pity that the desire to imitate foreign Moslem structures has sometimes caused the

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25) See J. Ph. VOGEL, *De oude monumenten van Delhi*, in the periodical *Nederlandsch-Indië oud en nieuw*, vol. 1930, pp. 355-375, especially pp. 358, 359, 373.

26) DIEZ, *Manāra*, in *Enzyklopaedie des Islām*, vol. III, p. 250; *Handwörterbuch des Islam*, p. 417.

27) Woodbury collection. Mr Woodbury at the time was photographer in Batavia.

old Indonesian roof of the mosque and of the minaret to be supplanted by the internationally used *qubba*, mistakenly regarded as a Moslem style. The mosque at Sukabumi has been hopelessly spoiled by the addition of two minarets with *qubbas* and of a new cupola-shaped roof on top of the old Indonesian. Also elsewhere *qubbas* are coming constantly more in vogue on mosques and minarets.

Thus we find a tendency towards embellishing both mosque and minaret, be it not always in accordance with the national style. Yet simplicity still remains characteristic of the mosques and minarets of Java. In this respect they remain faithful to the strict doctrine of the Islam which disapproves of the excessive decoration of the mosque [28]). Some time ago a Javanese religious teacher with whom I was acquainted recited some Arabic sayings which he stated had been pronounced by the Prophet, and which predicted that, should the mosques ever be ornamented to the degree as were the churches of Christendom, then the end of the world was near.

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28) Compare: SNOUCK HURGRONJE, *Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. VI, Bonn etc., 1925, p. 237.

PLURAL FORMS OF BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY

by

P. H. POTT
Leyden

Though there are a number of outstanding works on the iconography of Northern Buddhism, in which descriptions of the countless deities have been treated systematically in general and in detail, the study of this chapter of Indian archaeology is still in its infancy. To the uninitiated the images of the gods with their various heads and many arms are only of value as works of art or as grotesque curios. Many of these gods, and more especially of the goddesses, possess a most horrible and disgusting appearance, and the worship they enjoy from the followers of the Buddha's doctrine seems utterly incongruous and inexplicable. But to the initiated and to the interested student they represent an almost inexhaustible source of study and research.

This research, however, is encumbered with numerous difficult questions and until now of the many which have been raised the most have remained unexplained. This is not even strange as it is almost impossible to disentangle the highly intricate questions without being an adept in the esoteric doctrines of Mahāyāna. The only possibility we have is to look for some facts which the material at our disposal — or at least a prominent part of it — has in common and to try and find some of its directive principles.

There are two outstanding features of Mahāyāna iconography which at once attract our attention, e.g. the inclination to plurality and to the demonizing of its most effective figures. It is on the first of these characteristics that we wish to offer some remarks.

In Mahāyāna doctrine it is not the single deity any longer, which forms the object of veneration. Here, the Buddha is not in the first instance the teacher of the holy doctrine, while the Bodhisattva has lost his characteristic as the fervently expected Buddha of the Future; both of them have become mere figures in a well-planned and completely developed pantheon, and, what is more, there does no longer exist only one of them, but there are complete sets, connected with specified parts of the cosmic conception, wherein they are no more than little facets. Within the larger constellation every figure in its turn forms the centre of a peculiar little world of its own; it is surrounded by a number of attendants, aspects of a lower degree, all of them being again centres of other circles of minor importance, *ad infinitum.*

The number of surrounding figures is not always constant and the larger it is, the more rapid is the growth of the pantheon. So, every figure may be surrounded by two, four, eight, sixteen etc., the numbers of four and eight being the more favourable ones.

The most splendid examples of such extensive pantheons are represented by the so-called *maṇḍalas*. It is not so very easy to give a short and comprehensive explanation of what is meant by this word. Bhattacharyya provides us with the following definition: "the word maṇḍala in Tāntric usage means a magic circle which contains within it the figures of the deities or their symbols in the form of letters of the alphabet or their geometric figures (*yantras*); the maṇḍalas may contain from a minimum of two to a considerable number of deities or their symbols" [1]).

I have tried in the following definition to give another and more elaborate description in order to indicate the most essential characteristics of the maṇḍala: [2]) a maṇḍala is a cosmic symbol with in its centre the figure of a distinguished god, surrounded by a number of deities of lower distinction, who have found their places in accordance with the hierarchical and mutual relations existing among them and the figure in the centre; the symbol being an object for meditation, and, in ritual, a receptacle for the deities; it may be distinguished from the common *yantra* by a more pictorial representation of the deities or their symbols and a more elaborate development of details. Formulated in this manner, the definition gives plenty of room to comprise the different kinds of maṇḍalas without becoming worthless by being too vague.

The maṇḍala may be constructed two- or three-dimensionally and may be of lasting or transient material; it may be drawn or pictured on cloth, wood or masonry or plastically be formed out of sand, butter, rice etc. A maṇḍala may also be composed by gathering a number of bronzes of single deities.

There is no need to state that, provided they are complete, such maṇḍalas form a most welcome material for the study of iconography. Single bronzes, taken apart from their relations with the other figures of the pantheon from which they originate, have only little value. But complete maṇḍalas composed of single bronzes are only to be met with in their original homes: the temples where they have been installed; otherwise it is almost impossible to make out whether the set is complete or not [3]).

Naturally this is more easily done in the case of the drawn or pictured maṇḍalas, as in most cases they are depicted on a single sheet of cloth [4]). It is these paintings (*paṭa*) with the representation of a complete maṇḍala, which form the most secure foundation for the study of iconography and its problems, and it is not so very astonishing that the name maṇḍala has been applied to all kinds of paṭas, however incorrect this may be.

The drawn or pictured maṇḍala is not always of the same appearance; it is quite possible

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1) BHATTACHARYYA, *Sādhanamālā* II, p. cl.

2) POTT, *Yoga en Yantra*, p. 78.

3) Cf. the Pao-Hsiang Lou pantheon, published by W. E. CLARK, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*. (collection C)

4) It may, however, be stated that it is no exception when a maṇḍala is depicted on two or more paintings.

to distinguish different typical kinds of designed maṇḍalas and to give a clue as to their composition and importance. Of course it is useless to give a complete list of all these kinds, but it seems to me that it would be of some value to give an enumeration of the most prominent species [5]).

1: the quadrangular type.

This is the ideal kind of maṇḍala, the most distinguished deity occupying the centre and the whole pantheon surrounding it on all sides according to the stringently drawn rules of systematical distribution. Very fine specimens of this kind are supplied by the Japanese Shingon school [6]), but they are also very well-known from other Mahāyānist countries, for instance Tibet. The *paṭa* illustrated in plate a gives also an example from this country out of a private collection.

Due to the systematical design of this kind of maṇḍala, it is necessary to introduce a number of stopgaps in the pantheons to complete certain series. Taken by themselves, such figures have no real importance, but they are needed to fill up the existing gaps. Provided their names are given, these figures are easily to identify, as the names are typical artificial ones, mostly showing some very commonly spread constituents like vajra°, ratna° etc.

2. the type with the perpendicular placed trias.

This is one of the most common and interesting kinds of *paṭa* in Tibet. In the centre of the picture the most important deity has been depicted, surrounded by eight or four attendants. Over this central figure there is a small representation of an haloed saint or Buddha, accompanied in some cases by two other saints or disciples; under the figure in the centre the third member of the trias is shown, accompanied by two or four satellites, and at the bottom of the picture the four guardians of the world are usually to be found. The last mentioned deities seem to have little or no importance as to the conception of the *paṭa*.

Plate b gives a fine example of this kind of painted maṇḍala from Tibet, in which the four guardians of the world are missing. In the centre we see the figure of Bhairava, a wrathful aspect of Mahākāla, surrounded by eight attendants, four male and four female. Over it a saint is shown, viz. Nāgārjuna, easily to be identified by the seven nāgas round his *halo*. Just below the figure in the centre another form of Mahākāla has been placed: Mahākāla brāhmaṇarūpa, surrounded by four aspects. At the first sight the painting may seem to be irregular, but when we take a closer view of it, there is no other conclusion to be made than that it is very carefully designed.

3. the horizontally placed and demonized type.

This is a kind of maṇḍala, which is not so very common to meet with, but it is of the greatest interest as it gives a representation of the most distinguished trias of the esoteric

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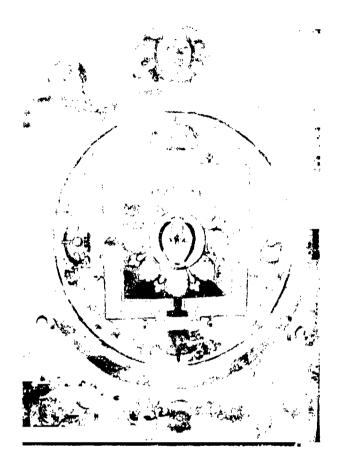
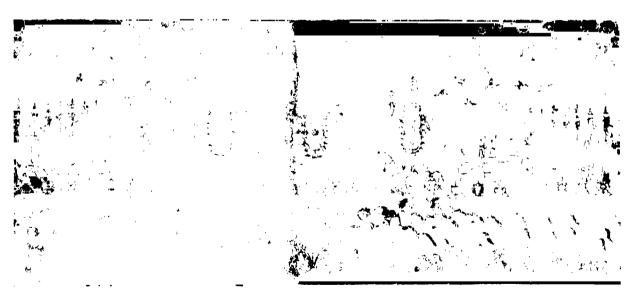
5) It is not my intention to give a survey of the different kinds of maṇḍalas with reference to their classification as mentioned in Vajrayānist doctrine (cf. my study *Yoga en Yantra*, p. 78), but only to give some indications as to the different kinds of composition of the painted maṇḍala with representations of deities.

6) Cf. BOSCH, *Buddhistische Gegevens uit Balische Handschriften, Med. Kon. Akad. v. Wetensch.*, Afd. Letterk., 68 B, no. 3, pl. 1 & 2.

PLURAL FORMS OF BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY

a

b

c

Courtesy Indian Inst., A'dam

a SQUARE MAṆḌALA OF AVALOKITEŚVARA
b MAṆḌALA OF BHAIRAVA WITH ATTENDANTS
c ŚMAŚĀNA MAṆḌALA

doctrines of Lamaism. Taken together the trias constitutes the group of occupants of the mystic *śmaśāna* or burialground. As I have dealt with this subject before, it suffices to refer to my article and only to mention a few of its characteristics [7]). Plate c gives an illustration of this kind of maṇḍala.

The scene seems to rėpresent a burialground, the gloomy and demoniacal character of which being greatly enhanced by a row of grinning skulls along the upper edge of the paintings. The cemetery, which is evidently sacred ground, is inhabited by three interesting figures of demoniacal deities, but the most remarkable thing about these paintings is that the bodies of the deities are invisible to the lay eye; their riding beasts, attributes and ornaments in every detail only to be seen. The trias comprises the figures of Mahākāla, Kālī and Yama in his quality of prince of the dead.

4. the horizontally placed and non-demonized type.

This is a kind of maṇḍala which is mostly used in xylographs and manuscripts with illustrations and descriptions of deities. It is also not uncommon in representations of the saints of the Lamaist church, and it is not always possible to say whether the representation may be called a maṇḍala or a paṭa representing a distinguished saint with attendants, without being a maṇḍala in the real sense of the word.

With this survey of the more important forms of painted maṇḍalas, I conclude my enumeration, as it is only my intention to give an outline of the different kinds of paṭa, which are also maṇḍalas, and not to describe all kinds of paṭa. Therefore, I leave aside the paintings representing single deities or saints as well as scenes from the Buddha's life and representations of some constant groups like those of the eighteen *sthaviras* or the eighty-four *mahāsiddhas*.

When dealing with plural forms of Buddhist iconography, it is quite necessary to introduce also another of its most striking problems into our discourse, e.g. the fact that many of the gods are supplied with more than two arms. This has been an intriguing point to many a scholar and the problem remains still unsolved [8]).

It has always been a difficult question and almost all students are apt to declare it to be a degeneration of an older and higher conception of gods and goddesses.

Whenever the point is raised, the investigator declares that he tries to understand how these monstrosities ultimately gained access into higher art, which means that he starts from a discriminating idea of the things he wishes to explain.

Prof. Macdonell expounded a theory why the Hindu images are provided with many arms [9]). His theory is that an additional pair of arms was added by sculptors to carry the

7) POTT, *A Remarkable Piece of Tibetan Ritual-painting and its Meaning*, *Int. Arch. f. Ethnogr.*, XLIII, 1943, p. 215-241. Besides the examples mentioned in this article there is also another to be found in TAFEL's *Meine Tibetreise*, vol. II, pl. XXXVII.

8) I have no access to FABRI's note on this subject, read at the fourth session of the Indian History Congress, Lahore 1940. Cf. *Ind. Hist. Quart.* XVII, 1941, p. 128.

9) In the *Ernst Windisch Festschrift*; cf. *JRAS* 1916, p 125-130.

attributes which enabled the worshipper to identify the gods. Hocart objected to this theory and not without reason [10]. He remarks that earlier art solved this problem quite simply by giving the clue for the identification on the pedestal. Moreover, it is not uncommon that the attributes are represented over the additional hands and not in touch with them. Some statues have several heads too and others have additional hands, although none of them holds any attributes. He terminates his objections with the statement that the presence or absence of additional arms is subject to definite rules. He only concludes that evidently theological conditions were paramount in deciding the number of arms and faces, but he does not give any solution of the problem as he cannot give an explanation as to the origin of those theological conceptions.

It has also been assumed that the conception of the gods possessing many arms was simply introduced to symbolize the superhuman strength of divine powers.

I think it more reasonable to start from another idea, viz. that of the multiplication, and I give here some indications which corroborate with this supposition.

If we meet with the figure of a male deity with nine heads and eighteen hands, surrounded by eight subsidiary female figures, then there is no reason at all to doubt the origin of such a figure: it has been composed by joining nine separate figures into one with as many heads and arms as the separate figures had together. A very fine example of such a multiplex figure is that of Padmanarteśvara, described by Foucher [11] in accordance with data from the Sādhanamālā, although this deity has but one head.

There is still another beautiful example of multiplicity, viz. the figure of the wrathful deity Hevajra, which I have already dealt with elsewhere [12].

This deity with its seven or eight heads holds in its eight right hands brainpans (*kapālas*) with different kinds of *vāhanas* or riding beasts and in its eight left hands he holds *kapālas* with different gods. He is represented in *yab-yum* with his śakti Vajravarāhī and he is surrounded by eight wrathful goddesses, which prove to be emanations of his śakti.

Whenever we meet with a figure showing as many heads as pairs of arms [13], we can safely assume that we have to deal with a multiplex figure.

Of course there are many other examples. Very often it is not difficult to give an interpretation of the multiplicity, the less so if the figure has been endowed with 3, 5, 8 or 9 heads and as many pairs of arms. But there are also some figures, which offer more difficulties. There is for instance one figure which we must describe at some length: the very well-known eleven-headed form of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

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10) *Acta Orientalia* VII, 1929, p. 91 sq.

11) FOUCHER, *Etude sur l'Iconographie bouddhique* II, p. 37, cf. BHATTACHARYYA, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 41 sq.; POTT, *Yoga en Yantra*, p. 138; SANKALIA, *Two rare Images of a Buddhist Tantric Deity Padmanartteśvara, Ind. Hist. Quart.* XV, 1939, p. 278-280 with illustrations of two bronzes of this deity.

12) POTT, *op. cit.*. p. 75. Cf. also BHATTACHARYYA, *Iconography of Heruka, Ind. Cult.* II, 1935, p. 23-35.

13) It is little remarkable that the arms only join in the multiplicity. The legs are not multiplicated in general, or only duplicated.

There are several versions of the legend explaining his eleven heads, but they all amount to the following:

Avalokiteśvara, the All-Pitying One, descended into hell, converted the wicked, liberated them, and conducted them to Sukhāvati, the paradise of his spiritual father, Amitābha. He discovered, however, to his dismay, that for every culprit converted and liberated, another instantly took his place, and his head split into ten pieces of grief and despair on discovering the extent of wickedness in the world, and the utter hopelessness of saving all mankind. Amitābha caused each piece to become a head, and placed the heads on the body of his spiritual son, Avalokiteśvara, with his own head above them all. Thus, the "On-looking Lord" was endowed with eleven brains instead of one, to concentrate on the best means of saving mankind [14]).

It is clear, that this legend is only meant as an elucidation for the benefit of those, who for one reason or another are not sufficiently advanced in the religious doctrines to understand the true nature of the deity. When we take a closer view of its appearance, we can find a more reasonable explanation as to the origin of this peculiar form of the bodhisattva.

At the first instance we may observe that only nine out of his eleven heads—his 'normal' head included—, are equal in form, the other two having quite another appearance. This is already an indication that we have to deal with an enlarged group of nine heads, one in the centre and eight surrounding it by the different points of the compass, extended by a head for both zenith and nadir. Constellations of this scheme are not unknown in Indian iconography. We remember, for instance, the group of the Ekadaśa Rudra [15]). Moreover, it is this form of Avalokiteśvara which is the most commonly used for Lokeśvara and it is not without importance to compare it with the other well-known form of Lokeśvara already mentioned above: Padmanarteśvara. This sustains our supposition that this form of Avalokiteśvara is also a multiplex figure, which is still corroborated by the picture of Avalokiteśvara surrounded by eight goddesses in the eight-petalled lotus of the square maṇḍala of plate a.

It is of no importance to deal at length with all the other multiplex figures, however interesting it would be. Now that we are acquainted with the main lines according to which they have been designed, they speak a language of their own which we are able to understand.

But it is of some value to draw the attention to a most interesting figure in Lamaist iconography which sometimes occurs, viz. that of the duplex figure. By this I do not mean the well-known *yab-yum* representations, for these figures are by no means duplex, but figures of quite another character. Some so-called 'double-princes' exist in Lamaist iconography, couples of deities which are conceived to be one in reality, but which are composed

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14) Cf. GETTY, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*², p. 67 sq.

15) Cf. RAO, *Elements of Hindu Iconography* II, p. 46 and DAMSTÉ, *Balische Oudheden, Oudh. Versl.* 1922, p. 75 sq.; POTT, *Yoga en Yantra*, p. 147 sq.

out of two different figures, which still remain to be distinguished. The most important specimen of this type is Yama in his quality of god of the dead, who is then accompanied by Yamī, who is said to be his sister. Another example of this kind forms the very intriguing figure of the Citipati, the couple of skeletons, one of a man and the other of a woman, which are represented with arms and legs interlaced, dancing on two corpses. They are usually represented in the suite of Yama and sometimes they are placed each on a separate lotuscushion.

Yama in his quality of god of the dead and ruler of the hells, is one of the three occupants of the mystic burialground (*śmaśāna*), where he resides with Mahākāla and Kālī. I have tried to give an explanation of this group in another article, mentioned above. I pointed out that Mahākāla and Kālī might be conceived to be a couple and Yama to be their son. Moreover, Mahākāla represents *buddha* in this esoteric trias, Kālī stands for *dharma* and Yama for *saṅgha*, the last of which is conceived to be the third and minor member of the trias, originating from the union of the other two.

It seems to me that here the real origin is to be found of the preference for this special form of Yama in this esoteric trias, Yama and Yamī forming a kind of lower aspect of the couple Kāla and Kālī. It looks like a kind of concession, an embellishment of the system, originating from an older theory, which was acquainted with the two deities Yama and Yamī as separate and individual gods, but which are jointed together and amalgamated into one in Lamaist doctrine.

The Citipati seems to have the same characteristic of a stopgap to complete a system: it may be conceived as forming one single deity, but it may also be split up into two separate figures. For this supposition I can supply a satisfying proof. On a large xylograph on linen, representing a great number of *mahāsiddhas* at one side of the picture and on the other side their śaktis or ḍākinis in a corresponding place in the picture, a set of demoniacal deities has been depicted in the foreground, consisting of seven figures [16]. The figures are easily to be identified. At one side three forms of Kāla have been depicted and at the other side three forms of Kālī. At first sight we thought the parellelism of the picture spoiled by the remaining figure, but this proves to be Citipati, which must not be conceived here as a single deity, but as a couple: one male and one female.

To summarize it is obvious that in the development of Mahāyānist iconographical systems strict rules have always been followed, which exclude every form of caprice or irregularity. This insight enables us to follow the original lines of thought underlaying the process of development and to admire the consequential manner in which these systems have been conceived and built up by the greatest philosophers of Northern Buddhism.

16) An attempt to reproduce the picture failed as it was blurred too much. It is in a private collection.

MAHARAJA AJITSINGH AND EMPEROR BAHADUR SHAH

by

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU
Jodhpur

In 1707 A.D., when Emperor Aurangzeb died in the Deccan, Maharaja Ajit Singh took possession of Jodhpur, his ancestral capital. This was a great blow to the Mughal prestige in Rajasthan and Emperor Bahadur Shah, the successor of the late ruler, could not tolerate it. He therefore marched towards Ajmer to avenge it. But while on his way, he received the news of the rebellion of Kambakhsha, his own brother in the Deccan, therefore he soon patched up his relations with the Maharaja, bestowing on him the title Maharaja, a personal rank of 3.000 horse, out of which 1.000 were to draw double or triple pay.

After this he soon left for the Deccan and the Maharaja, along with Raja Jayasingh of Amber, also accompanied him. But as the Maharaja was away, the Emperor, under the pretext of smooth administration, appointed the Mughal officers at Jodhpur and thus again took it under his control. But the Maharaja did not like this and therefore, when the imperial army crossed the Narbada, he, along with Raja Jayasingh, returned to Marwar and driving away the Mughals retook Jodhpur in 1708 A.D.

After some days the combined armies of Jodhpur and Amber first captured Sambhar and then turned away the Mughals from Amber too. The Emperor could not keep silent and therefore, after the death of Kambakhsha, he again marched towards Ajmer to punish the Maharaja. But in the meantime he heard about the revolt of the Sikhs in the Punjab and was obliged to abandon his previous idea and had to conclude a treaty with the Maharaja, acknowledging his possession over Jodhpur.

In the following account we give a translation of a letter of Maharaja Ajit Singh, which throws some light on the events taking place at the time the said treaty was concluded.

LETTER

"By command of the illustrious, greatest among the Hindu rulers, king of kings Maharaja Shri Ajitsingh and his heir apparent Shri Abhayasingh, the city magistrate Dayaldas should note his favours. —

Letters of prince Azam and Nawab Khan-i-Khanan Mahabat Khan were received asking

to send our reliable nobles to the court so that the grant of our demands might be arranged. Accordingly Rathod Bhagvandas, son of Jogidas, Bhandari Khinvsi, Purohit Akhairaj, Munshi Udairaj and Pancholi Ramkishan were sent. Our reasonable requests, which were submitted in writing were all accepted by the Emperor and he further intimated (through them) that on the acceptance of his service more prosperities might be achieved. This suggestion was accepted by us. As the Emperor showed great favour, we started to meet him. He sent Nawab Mahabatkhan and Bundela Chhatrasal to receive us. Therefore, on Ashadh vadi 7, (7th June 1710 A.D.), they both arrived at Gangvana and encamped there. Our camp was then at Sirana at a distance of four miles from that place. The Nawab had a tent erected between both camps and brought the firman with the royal emblem there. We and Raja Jayasingh advanced from our camps and after due respects took over both things. —

After that we went to the Nawab's camp and paid our respects. The Nawab presented us with the following: — one elephant, one horse, and nine *thans* (pieces) of cloth, and showed great hospitality. He further said that when he would send the detailed account of this meeting to the Emperor and the grand Nawab, they both would be much pleased. He treated us with high regards. We stayed there for about an hour and then returned to our camp. —

Next day we left the place and encamped at Chandiyavas. Nawab Mahabatkhan visited us at our camp and we presented him as follows: — two horses and nine *thans* of cloth. We then retired to a private place and talked over matters. The Nawab was all along very friendly, treated us with great respect and after a stay of about two hours he went back to his camp.

On vadi 9th (9th June) we and the Nawab left the place on elephants and pitched our camp at Dumada, while the Emperor encamped at the village Rajosi, eight miles away from us.

On vadi 10th (10th June) Nawab Khan-i-Khanan came to receive us and we met him there. He presented us with the following: — one elephant, one horse, one studded dagger, one studded small dagger, one bundle of cloths and one tray full of dried fruits. Further we also exchanged our views retiring in a secluded place. He also conveyed to us the message of the Emperor, showed great favour, and after about one hour's talk, returned to his camp.

On Ashadh vadi 11 (11th June) at about the beginning of the second quarter of the day, we rode out to see the Emperor. The Nawab and Chhatrasal accompanied us. The Emperor also rode out and sent prince Azam in advance. We paid him our respects. Alighting from his palanquin he rode a horse and showed great pleasure. Further, taking us with him, he presented us to the Emperor. The Emperor, stopping his portable throne, accepted our compliments and bestowed on us this much: —

Jodhpur along with all its districts, a personal rank of 16.000 and 14.000 horses, one horse, one elephant, one *dugdugi* (ornament), one sword and one studded *sarpech* (ornament to be tied on the turban) and, expressing his favours, granted us leave to return to our country.

Ere this neither did any Emperor ever stop his portable throne accepting the respects paid by any person, nor was a prince sent to receive him. But by the grace of God we were given this privilege. The Emperor then returned to his camp and we to ours. After about two hours he—the Emperor—, as a mark of his special favour, sent us one bagged deer and two baskets of melons.

Raja Jayasingh was given Amber as his *mansab*. God has been very kind to us in fulfilling our mission for which we had brought Raja Jayasingh with us.

We were much pleased with this. You should arrange for the playing the *naubat* (drums and pipes), distribute *gud* (sweets) and observe great rejoicings.

We are soon returning to our country and would tell you other things on our arrival there.

Dated Ashadh vadi 11, 1766 V.S. (Shravanadi) (11th June 1710 A.D.), Camp Dumada."

This document bears the seal of the Maharaja and the words 'Hukam chhai' showing his approval [1]).

1) The original letter is in the possession of the descendants of Dayaldas, who belong to the tietship of the Pal village, Jodhpur State.

NIRVĀṆA AND PARINIRVĀṆA

by

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The view still prevails that *parinirvāṇa* means final nirvāṇa or nirvāṇa attained at death with the complete dispersal of the skandhas, though it was long ago refuted by E. Kuhn. It appears in the Pāli Dictionary of Rhys Davids and Stede, and Dr. Waldschmidt in his excellent analysis of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* speaks of Buddha's "Eingang in das Parinirvāṇa" [1]. Even the Buddhists of Ceylon have the same idea, probably because they follow Rhys Davids more closely than the Pāli texts. Yet it was Rhys Davids who by examining the actual texts for his Dictionary found that the usual distinction of *nirvāṇa* and *parinirvāṇa* was untenable. Without these texts it was in fact impossible to reach a rational decision. The study of Buddhism has always suffered from the fact that its most characteristic technical terms were discussed before the texts were known, as in the case of Burnouf's discussion of *nirvāṇa*. The best that he could do with nirvāṇa was to try to find evidence by analysing the corresponding Tibetan terms (*Int.* 18, 516, 590).

Burnouf also found the word *parinirvṛta*, which he translated "entièrement anéanti", and this was probably the origin of the usual interpretation. Childers did not recognize any distinction in the terms, and said that *parinirvāṇa* is used only of "the attainment of *khandhanibbāna*, or the annihilation of being" (*Dict.* p. 344). But for him there was only one kind of nirvāṇa, and he had to explain the nirvāṇa attained by the arhat as a mere figure of speech: "To say that an Arhat has attained Nirvāṇa is merely to say that he has made sure of Nirvāṇa, that he has made Nirvāṇa his own" (*Dict.* p. 268). When he found a reference to those who *loke parinibbutā*, he chose to omit *loke* altogether, although he had the commentary on *Dhp.* 89 before him.

In the time of Childers it was impossible to test such dogmatic conclusions, and it was the great merit of Rhys Davids that he should be the chief means of making the texts accessible, and with his Dictionary furnishing us with a powerful tool for their investigation.

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1) *Die Überlieferung vom Lebensende des Buddha.* (*Abh. d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Kl.*, 3. J., Nr. 29, 1944.)

It was the success of his own efforts which led him to see that his distinction of nirvāṇa and parinirvāṇa could not be upheld from the texts. We find a monk approaching Buddha and addressing him as *parinibbuta*: *Pucchāma munim ... parinibbutaṃ ṭhitattaṃ* (Sn. 359). We learn also of some beings who in this actual existence attain nirvāṇa: *Ekacce sattā diṭṭheva dhamme parinibbāyanti* (S. IV. 102), and the commentators speak of two parinibbānas (Dhp. A. ii. 163). As the same term is used for both, it is clear that *pari-* in the sense of "complete" cannot be used to define final nirvāṇa. Yet Rhys Davids was as far of as ever from finding an explanation of the use of the two terms.

The distinction between nirvāṇa at enlightenment and nirvāṇa at death is a real one, but it is expressed in quite different terms, as *saupādisesa* and *anupādisesa*, with or without a remainder of *upādi* (Skt. *upadhi*). How far back the distinction goes may be questioned, but it is in the scriptures, and continues as a regular formula into Mahāyāna texts. Rhys Davids attempted to find a solution by giving *parinibbāna* two meanings: (1) release, with the assurance of final death (this would correspond to *anupādisesa nibbāna*), and (2) the state of peace of the living arhat. It was easy to find examples of the first, as there are many instances where the term is not defined as either *saupādisesa* or *anupādisesa*, but the division is purely arbitrary, and gives no reason why *parinibbāna* rather than *nibbāna* should have been used; and it should be noticed that in the regular formula for attaining final nirvāṇa (*anupādisesāya nibbānadhātuyā*) the word used is *nibbāna* not *parinibbāna*.

The real distinction between nirvāṇa and parinirvāṇa is a purely grammatical one, but the grammatical feature is so unusual in Western languages that English speakers especially have a difficulty even in expressing what is meant by *Aktionsart* as distinct from *Zeitstufe*. It is however well known in Greek, and Brugmann gives many instances in which the *kursive Aktion* is converted into *perfektive Aktion* by the addition of a prefix, as in φεύγειν and διαφεύγειν.

That is what has happened in the case of *pari-nirvāṇa*. *Nirvāṇa* expresses the state, *parinirvāṇa* the attaining of the state, or in Pāli, he *parinibbāyati*, attains the state, and then *nibbāyati*, he is in the state expressed by *nibbāna*.

'KANIṢKA YEAR 14'

by

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In editing this inscription (*Epigraphia Indica,* XIX, pp. 96-8) from Mathurā, the late Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni did not fail to draw attention to some peculiarities of the script, which he described as Brāhmī of the Kuṣāṇa period. 'It must, however', he wrote, 'be noted that the *m* everywhere shows the advanced form of the Gupta period with a small knob attached to the left of the letter instead of the triangular base. Similarly the *akshara h* assumes the form peculiar to the eastern variety of the Gupta script [1]), in which the horizontal base stroke is completely suppressed, the hook of the *akshara* being turned sharply to the left. The *anusvāra* is throughout represented by a short horizontal stroke instead of the usual dot. The long medial *ā* is in some cases not distinctly defined'. He goes on to mention that the 'mixed dialect', as represented by the inscription, exhibits much fewer deviations from normal Sanskrit in respect of spelling, *Sandhi,* declension, etc. than is usual in inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa period. The main interest of the inscription he finds, however, in the fact that 'it is the first Brāhmī inscription of the Kushāṇa period which quotes the month [Pauṣa] of its date by its Hindu solar name instead of by the season name'.

The Rai Bahadur might have added that *l* in its single occurrence has a rather scrappy form, resembling those in Cols. I-III, V-VI of Bühler's Table IV, which are Gupta forms: also the *s* has two forms, a looped form which prevails (with a possible exception in the word *māsa*) from the beginning to beyond the middle of the text, and the normal early form, ruling from that point to the end. Not much significance attaches to the looped form of the *s*, which is found in a Mathurā inscription of year 25, or to the alternation, which may be seen also in an inscription of year 33 (Huviṣka) and again in one of year 93 and some others from Mathurā (see Lüders' *List,* nos. 32, 38, 74, 122, 145, and reff. for Plates).

A striking feature in the vocabulary of the inscription is the use, noted by the Rai Bahadur as 'inexplicable', of the word *pitāmaha* as an epithet of Buddha. This idiom is so unfamiliar that in Professor Lüders' *List* (no. 910) the word in its single citation (from

1) BÜHLER's Table IV, Col. I.

Cunningham's Deoriya (Bhita) inscription, A.S.R., III, p. 48 and Pl. XVIII) the signification is given doubtfully as 'saint(?)'. Since that time it has been found in a Nālandā inscription of c. the XIIth century and again in a Kosam inscription of perhaps the IVth century and has drawn comments from the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar, the editor of both (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 100, n. 5, and XXIV, p. 148, n. 4).

Either of the two characteristics, palaeographical and linguistic, would by itself suffice to demonstrate that the inscription does not date from year 14 of the Kaniṣka era, a conclusion already drawn by Mr. Majumdar, who in his second note remarks that 'Palaeographically, it is impossible to refer this inscription to Kanishka I, that is to say, to the early Kushān period, as its alphabet shows predominantly Gupta forms'. The deduction in this form may seem irrefragable. It should, then, also apply to the statue on the basal slab of which, in the place designed, as usual, for it, the writing was carved: hence it cannot be imagined that the inscription was a posterior addition, a replica accommodated to the script and language of the times, without supposing that the statue itself was a replica. What then is the date of the inscription?

If we regard the *m* as merely an extreme form of the *m* with a crook in the left vertical (Bühler's Table IV, Col. VIII; cf. Col. I) in which the crook, originally a loop, has sunk into the base, we shall find that the *m*, *s*, and *h* of the inscription are a group, [illegible] ([illegible], *m* 'with crook'), [illegible] ([illegible] 'looped), [illegible] (or even [illegible]). We have—

(1) Deoriya inscr.:
m with crook, *s* normal, *h* as in 'Kaniṣka 14'.

(2) Mathurā inscr. Dowson no. 26 (L. *List*, no. 145):
m with and without crook, *s* normal and looped, *h* absent.

(3) Sāñchī inscr. of Mahārāja Vaskuṣāṇa, year 22:
m as in 'Kaniṣka 14', *s* normal and looped, *h* absent.

(4) Ginja painted inscr. of Mahārāja Bhīmasena, year 52;
(Cunningham, A. S. Report, XXI, pp. 119 f., Pl XXX):
m nearly as in 'Kaniṣka 14', *s* normal, *h* as in 'Kaniṣka 14'.

(5) Kosam inscr. of Bhadramagha, year 81 (*Ep. Ind.* XXIV, pp. 243 ff. and Pl.):
m with slight crook or curve, *s* looped, *h* as in 'Kaniṣka 14'.

(6) Kosam inscr. of Bhadramagha, year [8]8 (86?) (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 158 ff. and Pl.):
m with crook, *s* looped, *h* as in 'Kaniṣka 14'.

(7) Kosam inscr. of Sivamagha (ibid.):
m with crook, *s* looped, *h* as in 'Kaniṣka 14'.

(8) Kosam inscr. of Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa, year 107 (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 146 ff. and Pl.):
m as in 'Kaniṣka 14' or with slight crook, *s* looped, *h* as in 'Kaniṣka 14'.

(9) Kosam inscr. of Bhīmavarman, year 130 (A. Ghosh, *Indian Culture*, III, pp. 177-182 and Pl. IV):

m as in 'Kaniṣka 14' or with slight crook, *s* normal and looped, *h* as in 'Kaniṣka 14'.

(10) Kosam inscr. of Bhīmavarman, year 139 (Fleet, C.I.I., p. 266 and Pl. xxxix): *m* with crook, *s* looped, *h* as in 'Kaniṣka 14'.

(11) Allahabad inscr. of Bhadramagha, year 87 (G.S. Chatterji, *Jha Commemoration Volume* (1939), pp. 101 and 2 Pll., and *Ep. Ind.* XXIII, pp. 245-248 and Pl.): *m* with crook, *s* looped, *h* as in 'Kaniṣka 14'.

(12) Allahabad *Praśasti* of Samudragupta (Fleet, C.I.I., III, pp. 1 ff. and Pl. I): *m* as in 'Kaniṣka 14', *s* looped, *h* (and *l*) as in 'Kaniṣka 14'.

(13) Gadhwa (Allahabad Dist.) inscr. of Candragupta II, year 88 (Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 ff. and Pl. IV): *m* as in 'Kaniṣka 14', *s* looped, *h* (probably) as in 'Kaniṣka 14'.

(14) Gadhwa inscr. of Kumāragupta (Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 ff. and Pl. IV): *m* as in 'Kaniṣka 14', *s* looped, *h* as in 'Kaniṣka 14'.

(15) Gadhwa inscr. of Kumāragupta, year 98 (Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 ff. and Pl. IV): *m* as in 'Kaniṣka 14', *s* looped, *h* absent.

(16) Mankuwar (Allahabad Dist.) inscr. of Kumāragupta, year 129 (Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 ff. and Pl. VI): *m* as in 'Kaniṣka 14', *s* looped, *h* as in 'Kaniṣka 14'.

(17) Udayagiri (Bhilsa) inscr. of Candragupta II (Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 ff. and Pl. IV): *m* as in 'Kaniṣka 14', *s* looped, *h* (and *l*) as in 'Kaniṣka 14'.

(18) Meharauli Pillar inscr. of Candra (Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 139 ff. and Pl. XXI): *m* as in 'Kaniṣka 14', *s* looped, *h* as in 'Kaniṣka 14'.

(19) Kahaum (Gorakhpur Dist.) inscr. of Skandagupta, year 141 (Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 ff. and Pl. IX): *m* as in 'Kaniṣka 14', *s* looped, *h* (and *l*) as in 'Kaniṣka 14'.

(20) Bihar Pillar inscr. of Skandagupta (Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 ff. and Pl. VI): *m* as in 'Kaniṣka 14', *s* looped, *h* (and *l*) as in 'Kaniṣka 14'.

(21) Lahore seal of Mahārāja Maheśvaranāga (Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-3 and Pl. XLIII): *m* as in Bühler Pl. IV, 31, iv, *s* absent, *h* as in 'Kaniṣka 14'.

(22) Nālandā Plate of Samudra-Gupta (*Ep. Ind.*, XXV, pp. 50-3 and Pl.): *m*, *s* (both forms), and *h* (J) as in 'Kaniṣka 14'.

The *h* of the inscription has, it will be seen, a fairly definite geographical range: it extends from about Mathurā (it does not occur in the (Vth century?) Kura inscription from the Salt Range) and Sānchī in the west as far east as Kosam and Allahabad, with one or two examples further east in Gupta times. It is absent from many inscriptions contemporary with the Guptas, even in the range as stated, especially those in older general style of script, even when they have the *m* with a crook or more or less similar to that of 'Kaniṣka 14'. Naturally it is absent from the inscriptions in the box-headed characters; but also from those of the Uccakalpa and Parivrājaka rulers. It was also limited in time: Bühler gives forms of it only in his Table IV, 350-800 A.D., mostly belonging to the first quarter of the

period. It does not appear in the records of the Maukharis or the Guptas of Magadha; but an even more degraded form may be seen in the spurious Gayā copper-plate dated in Samudragupta's 9th year (Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 254 ff. and Pl. XXXVII). Since Bühler finds it at Jaggayyapetta (in the south) in the IIIrd century, its period might be defined as c. 250-450 A.D. The Kosam inscriptions cited above are dated very probably in an era, perhaps the Chedi era, considerably earlier than that of the Guptas: see Krishna Deva in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 255-6, N. G. Majumdar, *ibid.*, p. 146, A. Ghosh in *Indian Culture*, III, pp. 177 ff., S. Konow in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 245).

As regards the area Mathurā-Sāñchī-Kosam, we may note that—

(a) In Mathurā no Kuṣaṇa, or other Prākrit, inscription has the *m* or the *h*: in the five later Sanskrit inscriptions, Lüders *List*, nos. 145-9, the *m* with a crook [2]) is used and the *s* is normal (in 145 also looped).

(b) The Sāñchī inscription of Vāsuṣka, year 28, has only normal forms.

(c) The Kosam inscription of Kaniṣka, year 2 (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 210 ff.) and that edited by Daya Ram Sahni in *Ep. Ind.* XVIII, pp. 158 ff., have only normal forms.

But now there intervenes a circumstance which may seriously modify any conclusion based upon the form of the *h*. The form is, in fact, evidenced at a date considerably earlier than that so far alleged, viz. on the coins of the Western Kṣatrapas (see Rapson's *Catalogue, passim*). Apparently, to judge from Rapson's facsimiles, its first appearance is on coins of Rudradāman, which would indicate a date of c. 140-150 A.D.: it is absent from those of his predecessors, Caṣṭana and Jayadāman. The dating is singularly confirmed by the evidence of the Andhau, Gundā and Gaḍhā inscriptions published by R. D. Banerji in *Epigraphia Indica*, XVI. In the three Andhau inscriptions of Saka 52 = A.D. c. 130, during the rule of Rudradāman, and similarly in the Gundā inscription of Saka 103 = A.D. c. 181, during the reign of Rudrasiṃha, there is no trace of the *h* or of the associated *m*: but in the Gaḍhā inscription of Saka 127 or 126 = A.D. c. 205, during the reign of Rudrasena, both the normal early form of *h* and the special form are exemplified; and likewise in the case of *m* the special form occurs intermingled with the early and usual 𑀫.

On the coins the special *h* seems to have prevailed exclusively from the time of its first appearance: whereas the *m* long retained its original shape as 𑀫 'though increasingly reduced to 𑀫, and it is only from the time of Dāmajada-śri and Rudrasena, i.e. c. A.D. 200, that we find forms like 𑀫 with two separate verticals, akin to that of 'Kaniṣka 14' and those shown in Bühler's Tafel IV.

In general, no doubt, the inscriptions lagged behind the coins in the adoption of alphabetic modifications. In the published Kṣatrapa inscriptions of Nasik and other places

2) In no. 145 also that of 'Kaniṣka 14'. The *m* 'with crook' is found intermingled with the original and usual 𑀫 as early as Huviṣka's year 33 (LÜDERS, no. 38):

in Western India we do not find the special forms of either the *m* or the *h*; but now the instance of the Gaḍhā inscription suggests that search among the minor records included, in the form of eye-copies, in the Archaeological Survey Reports of Dr Burgess might discover further examples.

It is not without significance that the Andhau, Gundā and Gaḍhā inscriptions all belong to the region of Kathiawar and Cutch, where also was Rudradrāman's early rule. Probably the special forms of *h* and *m* were first developed in Western India and the epigraphical use of them commenced in the time of Rudrasena, say c. A.D. 200. The usage may have spread to Mathurā in the first half of the IIIrd century A.D.

In the light of these considerations the judgment of the highly respected scholar, N. G. Majumdar, whose untimely demise was so deeply deplored, must, no doubt be revised. It is no longer necessary to regard the inscription 'Kaniṣka year 14' as exhibiting Gupta forms: it could be of the early IIIrd century rather than of the IVth. In no case, however, could it be appertain to the 14th year of Kaniṣka's reign. On the other hand, it seems impossible that an inscription dated in the years of a Mahārāja Devaputra Kaniṣka, especially as inscribed in Mathurā, the head-quarters from an early date of Kuṣaṇa rule in India, should refer to any other than the Kuṣaṇa era. Hence we are led to inquire whether the numerical figures in the date have been blundered in their execution or have been misread.

Examination of the photograph reveals at once that the decimal figure in the '14', though it has been injured on the stone, is quite different from the perfectly normal '10' of the day figure. In regard to quite minor divergences in such cases we are not entitled to be scrupulous: instances may be seen in—

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 382, no. 3 and Pl. (year 19):
in year figure no. 21 of the Table given *infra*, in day figure no. 6.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 202, no. 14 and Pl. (year 18):
in year figure no. 31, in day figure no. 13,

and there are like insignificant variations of 'hand' where it is not a matter of single dates, *e.g.* in *C.I.I.*, III, Pl. IV B, 11.7 and 16, and Pl. IV C, 11.3, 6. A more considerable divergence can be seen in—

(3) *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 110, no. iv and Pl. (year 12):
in year figure no. 29 of the Table, in day figure no. 7.

It must be admitted that in (3) the unusual form (no. 29 of the Table) is not a mere caprice, since it bears some resemblance to no. 25, though this is much posterior: the reading as '10' is, however, unsubstantiated. Such differences are not to be compared with that between the two forms—in the year , in the day —of 'Kaniṣka 14'; and here the divergence is emphasized by the quite normal, early, form of the second and by the fact that it is the one used also in the Sāñchī inscription of Vaskuṣāṇa. The *prima facie* conclusion is clearly that the year figure is not a '10'. What then can it be?

No one would propose to find in the figure a '20' or any of the numerals '50'-'90'. The *l*-like shape which denotes '30' has sometimes an approximation to a Devanāgarī *p* and so

might distantly be compared: and on the coins of the Western Satraps (see Rapson's *Coins of the Andhrās, etc.* p. ccviii, and Bühler's Tafel IX) the '40' again, is fairly like a Devanāgarī *s*. But, not to mention that a '34', or '44' would be no more helpful than a '14', the '30' and '40' are not, in fact, as near to the sign as is the '10'. The immediate question is whether the sign represents '100' or '200' ('300' being graphically impossible), so that the year would be '104' or '204'. This may be tried by aid of a Table showing the available early Brāhmī forms of '100' and '200'; and with these we may associate a selection of the forms of '10', the commonest of all the numerals, since it functions both in year-dates and in day-dates.

TABLE OF THE EARLY BRAHMI NUMERALS '10', '100', AND '200'

	Mathurā	Other early Indian	Central Asia
'10'	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16a)	17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32a)	33 34 35 36 37
'100'	1 2 3	4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14	15 16 17
'200'	1 2	3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13	14 15 16

a) More usually these (nos. 16 and 32) have the value '11'.

In the References to the Table (on page 302) the following abbreviations are used:

B = BÜHLER, *New Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura, Ep. Ind.*, I, pp. 371-397, Nos. I-XXXV, and Plates (not numbered);

BB = BÜHLER, *ibid.*, II, pp. 195-212, Nos. I-XLII, and Plates (not numbered);

Ban. = R. D. BANERJI, *The Scythian Period of Indian History, Indian Antiquary*, 1908, pp. 25-75, and Plates I-III;

Bur. = BURGESS, *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, vol. IV;

Cun. = CUNNINGHAM, *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. III;

D = DOWSON, *Ancient inscriptions from Mathura, JRAS*, 1871, pp. 182-193, and Plates I-IV;

E = *Epigraphia Indica*, Plates (not numbered) cited by number of volume and article, *e.g.* E XI, 6;

F = FLEET, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III. Inscriptions and Plates numbered;

Ho. = HOERNLE, *The Bower MS.*, Introduction:

Hu. = HULTZCH, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. I (new edition), Plates paged;

L = LÜDERS, *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta*, Schrifttafel by Else LÜDERS.

References to the Table on page 301:

'10': No. 1 = C III, 16 (Pl. XV), E X, 23 (i, Pl. I, l. 4); no. 2 = B XXII (Pl.); no. 3 = D 6 (Pl. II), B VII (Pl.); no. 4 = D 7 (Pl.); no. 5 = D 10, B II (Pl.); no. 6 = B III (Pl.); no. 7 = B X (Pl.), E X, 23 (iv, Pl. I); no. 8 = B VIII (Pl.); no. 9 = BB XIV (Pl.); no. 10 = B XXVIII (Pl.); no. 11 = E XIX, 9 (iii, Pl.); no. 12 = B XIX (Pl.); no. 13 = BB XIV (Pl.); no. 14 = B XII (Pl.), BB XLII (Pl.), E X, 23 (x, Pl. I); no. 15 = B XXIV (Pl.), E X, 23 (x & xi, Pll. I & II); no. 16 = E X, 23 (viii, Pl. I); no. 17 = Bur. Junnar 9 (Pl.); no. 18 = E VIII, 8 (ii, Pl. I, l. 1, Nasik); no. 19 = E VIII, 8 (iii, Pl. II, l. 12, Nasik), XI, 6 (Pl., Farrukhabad), XXI, 1 (B, C, F, Pl. i, ii, iii, Nagarjunikonda), XXVI, 12b (Pl. A), RAPSON, *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc., p. ccviii; no. 20 = E VIII, 8 (iii & v, Pl. II, l. 12, Nasik); no. 21 = E X, 23 (iii, Pl. I); no. 22 = F 7 (Pl. IV B, l. 7, Gadhwa; no. 23 = F 8 (Pl. IV C, l. 3, Gadhwa); nos. 24, 25 = F 24 (Pl. XV A, l. 19, Bhumara), 26 (Pl. XVI, l. 25, Karitalai), E XI, 31 (Pl., l. 13, Marwar); nos. 26, 27 = F 38 (Pl. XXIV, l. 36, Valabhi), E III, 46 (Pl., l. 28, Baroda), XI, 2 (Pl., l. 27, Palitana); no. 28 = F 26 (Pl. XVI, l. 24, Jabalpur); no. 29 = E X, 23 (iv, Pl. I); no. 30 = E VIII, 18 (a, Pl., l. 1, Sahet-Mahet); no. 31 = E III, p. 306 (Pl.); no. 32 = F 11 (Pl. VI A, l. 2, Allahabad district); no. 33 = Ho., p. xxxviii, BÜHLER, *Indische Paläographie*, Pl. IX, col. xix; nos. 34-36 = Ho., JASB, LXVI (1897), Pl. XXX; no. 37 = L.

'100': No. 1 = D 7, 30, 31 (Pl. II); no. 2 = E X, 23 (xx, Pl. III); no. 3 = D 8 (Pl. II), F 63 (Pl. XXXIX A, l. 1); no. 4 = F 65 (Pl. XXXIX C, l. 1), E XXIV, 20 (Pl., l. 3, Kosam); no. 5 = F 19 (Pl. XII A, l. 3), 23 (Pl. XIV, l. 20, Baghelkhand), 26 (Pl. XVI, l. 24, Jabalpur), E XXI, 13 (Pl., l. 25, Rajshahi), *Indian Culture*, III (Pl. IV, Kosam); no. 6 = F 20 (Pl. XII B, l. 2, Eran); no. 7 = E XXIV, 5 (Pl., l. 15, Nālandā); no. 8 = F 59 (Pl. XXXVI C, l. 1, Bharatpur); no. 9 = E VIII, 8 (xvii, Pl. VIII, l. 4, Nasik); no. 10 = E XVI, 17 (i, Pl., 3 Gundā); no. 11 = E VIII, 8 (xv, Pl., l. 11, Nasik); no. 12 = E XVI, 17 (ii, Pl., l. 1, Gaḍhā); no. 13 = F 11 (Pl. VI, Allahabad); no. 14 = F 62 (Pl. XXXVIII B, l. 11, Sānchi); nos. 15, 16 = Ho., *JASB*, LXVI (1897), Pl. XXX; no. 17 = L.

'200': No. 1 = D 9 (Pl. II), F 70 (Pl. XL D, l. 2); no. 2 = Ban. (Pl. III); no. 3 = Hu. p. 166 (Pl., l. 6, Rupnath); no. 4 = Hu. p. 170 (Pl., l. 7, Sahasram); no. 5 = F 71 (Pl. XLI A, l. 14, Bodh-Gaya); no. 6 = E IX, 53 (Pl., l. 13, Arang, C. P.); no. 7 = E XI, 31 (Pl., l. 13, Jodhpur), E XVI, 16 (Pl., l. 6, Sāñchi); no. 8 = E VIII, 8 (iv, Pl. II, l. 3, Nasik); no. 9 = F 38 (Pl. XXIV, l. 36, Kathiawar); no. 10 = E X, 16 (Pl., l. 25, Broach); no. 11 = E XXVI, 12a (Pl. A, Jaipur); no. 12 = E XXIII, 7 (Pl. A, B, C, Kotah); no. 13 = *Indian Antiquary*, LVIII, p. 53, (Pl., Udaipur); nos. 14, 15 = Ho., *JASB*, LXVI (1897), Pl. XXX; no. 16 = L.

Upon an inspection of the Table as a whole a reader may be disposed to think it not certain that the sign in the inscription is not a '10'. It bears some resemblance to the Vth century '10' (no. 33 in the Table) of Hoernle's '*Bower MS.*' But, if we confine our view to the inscriptions of Mathurā and those cited above as showing the features of the group *m, s, h*, it will be seen that, though they include but few occurrences of '10', those which do appear (in nos. 3, 4, 16) are adverse in respect of both the left-hand part of the figure and the right-hand part. Seeing that in 'Kaniṣka 14', as also in the Sāñchī inscription, the '10' of the day-number has a form even more correct and original than those three, it seems incredible that the year-numeral should have so far outgone them in abnormality.

As between '100' and '200' there is a possibility of doubt. Originally the '200' was a modification of the '100', by addition of a horizontal line, angle or hook to the right-hand vertical, usually at, or near, the top (in the coins and inscriptions of Western India near the bottom).

As is well known, a further stroke serves to form the '300', and the '400', '500', etc., add the respective '4', '5', etc., simply following the '100'. The '800' (*aṣṭaśata*) of R. D. Banerji's no. XX in *Ep. Ind.* X, 23 (Pl. III) should, no doubt, be '108'. The form in 'Kaniṣka 14' could well have developed from the '200''s shown as nos. 1, 2, 5, 7 of the Table.

The '100', however, shows in nos. 13 and 14, and in the Central-Asian nos. 15 and 16 a tendency to appropriate the addition characteristic of the '200'; and in no. 12 we find a close approximation to the figure in 'Kaniṣka 14'. This no. 12 is presented by the Gaḍhā inscription, where indubitably, as shown *supra*, it has the value of '100'. Taken in conjunction

with the already noted similarity of this inscription and 'Kaniṣka 14' in respect of *m* and *h*, the resemblance in the numerical figure is almost decisive. Nor do the other considerations mentioned by Daya Ram Sahni seem to preclude a reading of the year-number as '104'.

Another Mathurā inscription has been found to present a sign showing considerable similarity to that of 'Kaniṣka 14' and certainly to be read either as '100' or as '200'. This is no. VII in Daya Ram Sahni's article, 'Seven inscriptions from Mathura', published in *Epigraphia Indica* XIX, pp. 65-69 and Plate. In l. 3 Daya Ram Sahni has read *[va]rshaṇā 90 / kāruṇika*. This conscientious reading was, no doubt, dictated by the similarity of the sign to the indubitable *ṇā* of inscription no. IV; cf. also Bühler's Tafel III, 20, coll. III, IV. But in *kāruṇika* the *ṇ* is the normal I: *varshaṇā* is nothing, and the constant usage requires *varsha* simply (or more rarely, with Locative suffix written, *varshe*), and the quasi *-ṇā* must therefore belong to the following numeral, making '191' or '291'.

A Kaniṣka ruling in year 104, or even 204, is in no way surprizing. A relatively late 'Kanesko' has always been admitted [3]); and Dr Bachhofer has argued with great numismatic perspicacity [4]) in favour of placing him, as Kaniṣka III, after the Vāsudeva of the inscriptions and before a 'Vāsudeva II', likewise numismatically distinct. Even a Kaniṣka of year 204, if not later than about the end of the IIIrd century A.D., would not be impossible; at any rate the Daivaputra Shāhānushāhis, though as early as c. 240 A.D. they lost Baktria to the Sasanians, survived in Gandhāra and perhaps in the Panjab and Mathurā long enough to be in touch with Samudragupta.

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3) The particulars summarized in Vincent SMITH's *Early History of India*[3], pp. 272 sqq.

4) *JAOS*, 56 (1936), pp. 429 sqq.

THE DATE OF KAO-TSU'S FIRST COURT-CEREMONIAL

by

TJAN TJOE SOM
Leyden

Kao-tsu, the first emperor of the Han-dynasty, was a boorish and illiterate man, who had only contempt for literature and literati. He boasted of his having won the empire "on the back of his horse", and to the end of his life he most enjoyed the company of the rough bravado's who had been his brothers in arms on his numerous campaigns.

Yet even he was shocked and worried by the behaviour of the swashbucklers who at banquets quarrelled and fought, and when they got drunk fell to swearing and pulling out their swords and hacking at the columns of the palace. So he agreed to the suggestion that a ceremonial should be instituted, which, however, was not to be too cumbrous.

The first court-ceremonial with which Kao-tsu as son of Heaven received his grandees in audience had been devised by a certain Shu-sun T'ung 叔孫通. Shu-sun T'ung had been a *po-shih* "scholar of wide learning" under the Ch'in. He was not a full-fledged Confucianist, but rather an opportunist. At the victorious entry of Kao-tsu in P'êng-ch'êng in 205 B.C. [1]) he surrendered to him, and changed his Confucian clothes into those in the fashion of Ch'u to please the conqueror who was a Ch'u-man [2]). For the device of the court-ceremonial he went to Lu, the birth-place of Confucius and the stronghold of traditional Confucianism, to summon the help of the masters there. Two masters refused considering Shu-sun T'ung's purpose contrary to the ancient idea of propriety. Shu-sun T'ung laughed at their protests, saying they were only "mean literati" *pi ju*, who did not know the change of time [3]). He thereupon arranged the ceremonial with the assistance of his own one hundred pupils and thirty willing Lu-men, which probably contained many innovations and abbreviations to meet Kao-tsu's aversion to pompousness.

After more than a month of practice Shu-sun T'ung invited the emperor to a final rehearsal, which was soon followed by the actual ceremonial [4]). "Before daybreak the usher

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1) *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, translated by HOMER H. DUBS, 1938, Vol. I, p. 78.

2) *Ch'ien han shu (HS). Biography of Shu-sun T'ung*, ch. 43, fol. 14b; *Shih chi (SC)*, ch. 99, fol. 5a.

3) *HS, o.c.* fol. 15a; *SC, o.c.* fol. 5b-6a.

4) *HS, o.c.* fol. 15b-16a; the *SC, o.c.*, fol. 6a-b has a slightly different reading.

charged with the ceremonial [reception] led [the guests] in the order of their ranks through the palace-gates. In the court there was a drawing up of chariots, cavalry, infantry, and palace-guards, weapons were displayed, flags and standards set up. A loud voice called out: Go quick. Below the palace-platform attendants flanked the throne-steps, several hundreds at each step. Meritorious ministers, feudal lords, generals, and army-officers in the order of their ranks drew up on the western side facing east, while civilian officers from the rank of first minister and below drew up on the eastern side facing west. The master of ceremonies installed the nine transmitters of discourse [5]). Then the emperor in his palanquin came out of his apartments, the attendants presented arms and shouted [attention]. The feudal lords and those below them to the officers receiving six hundred piculs of rice [a month as remuneration] were conducted successively in the order of their ranks to offer their congratulations. Of the feudal lords and those below them there was none who did not wear an expression of concern and respect. During this ceremony all remained perfectly motionless. The drinking of ceremonial wine was announced. Those who were seated on the palace-platform all sat respectfully with bowed heads. In the order of their ranks they got up to wish long life to his majesty. After nine bouts the usher announced that the drinking was over. The inspector [6]) charged with [the observance of] the rules had to pick out those who should offend the decorum, and lead them out. During the whole audience the wine-drinking took place without anyone daring to become boisterous and endanger the decorum. Thereupon the emperor Kao-tsu exclaimed: "To-day I know what is the greatness of being an emperor."

The question now arises, when did this ceremonial audience take place? Neither the *Shih chi* nor the *Han shu* mention the event in the Annals. Dubs says it occurred in November 201 B.C. [7]), Hu Shih puts it "on the first day of the tenth month of the year 200 B.C. (when) the whole court met to celebrate the completion of the new Palace of Everlasting Bliss" [8]). Both apparently take their data from Shu-sun T'ung's Biography (differing in their conversions of the Chinese date), where the text reads: 迺令羣臣習肄會十月漢七年長樂宮成諸侯羣臣朝十月 [9]). Ssŭ-ma Chêng as well as Yen Shih-ku punctuate after 隸 (肄), the latter explaining 會 as 適會 "it happened that", so that the meaning of the passage would be: "[After Kao-tsu had seen the rehearsal and said he could perform the ceremony] he ordered his ministers to practise it. It happened that in the tenth month of the seventh year of Han the Ch'ang-lo Palace was completed, and [on that occa-

5) I have followed LIU PAN's explanation as quoted by WANG HSIEN-CH'IEN's commentary.

6) *Yü shih* 御史. According to HU SAN-HSING's commentary the function of the yü shih in the Ch'in and Han dynasties was to inspect 糾察 (*Tzŭ chih t'ung chien*, ch. 11, fol. 24b). These severe measures were necessary because it was the first ceremonial audience, and Kao-tsu's generals were inexperienced in this *métier*.

7) *o.c.*, Introduction p. 21.

8) *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. LX, 1929, p. 25.

9) *HS*, ch. 43, fol. 15b; *SC*, ch. 99, fol. 6a, where 隸 is given in stead of 肄, both words meaning 習 "to practise".

sion] the feudal lords and the ministers came for the tenth month-audience" [10]). It is, however, improbable that the month (十月) can be read before the year (漢七年), and it is more plausible to punctuate after 十月, which is also the opinion of Wang Hsien-ch'ien, who takes 會十月 as meaning 以十月朝會 "to assemble for the court-audience on the tenth month". In this way the translation would be: "he ordered his ministers to practise it, and assemble in the tenth month (= New Year's day). In the seventh year of Han the Ch'ang-lo Palace was completed. The feudal lords and the ministers came for the tenth month-audience." According to this reading the month of the completion of the Ch'ang-lo Palace is left open, while the year of the audience is not known either. Can it be the seventh year? But if we turn to the Annals [11]), we find as event for the tenth month of the seventh year (Nov./Dec. 201 B.C.) Kao-tsu's expedition against the Hsiung-nu and Han Hsin, from which he returned in the twelfth month (Jan. 200 B.C.) [12]). The audience could have been held just before the expedition, but here another difficulty intervenes. For according to Shu-sun T'ung's Biography the audience came after the completion of the Chang-lo Palace, and though the month is not stated here, it is explicitly so in the Shih chi-Annals, where under the seventh year, second month (Feb./March 200 B.C.) there is the entry: "Kao-tsu ... arrived at Ch'ang-an (the new capital). The Ch'ang-lo Palace was completed" [13]). Thus, following the Biography, it would appear that the ceremony was held *after* Feb./March 200 B.C., and it would then be in the tenth month of the eighth year, i.e. Oct./Nov. 200 B.C. We must then take it that the seventh year occurring in the Biography of Shu-sun T'ung only refers to the completion of the Ch'ang-lo Palace (in the second month), and that the further statement about the tenth month-audience is not connected therewith, so that Hu Shih's saying that the ceremony was held on the occasion of the completion of the Palace of Everlasting Bliss (Ch'ang-lo Palace) is not correct. As further both the Shih chi- and the Han shu-Annals under the eighth year [14]) mention an attack by Kao-tsu on Han Hsin's remaining rebels at Tung-yüan, the audience would have been held immediately before this expedition.

There is, however, another and more probable solution. It is possible that the entry of the completion of the Ch'ang-lo Palace in the second month of the seventh year in the Shih chi-Annals is wrong. As we have seen it is not found in the Han shu-Annals. Here for the second month of the seventh year it is related that upon his arrival in Ch'ang-an

10) *i.e.* the audience on New Year's day, *cf.* DUBS, *o.c.* p. 130, n. 1.

11) *i.e.* the *Han shu-Annals*. The *Shih chi-Annals* for this event only give the year (ch. 8, fol 25a, cf. CHAVANNES, *Mémoires Historiques* II, p. 389), but as the following entry is the second month the expedition may here be put in the tenth month of the same year also, the tenth month being the beginning of the year, the eleventh, twelfth, first, second etc. following upon it (cf. *The Han Dynasty's Earlier Calendar*, in DUBS, *o.c.*, pp. 154 ff.).

12) DUBS, *o.c.*, pp. 115-117.

13) *SC*, ch. 8, fol. 25a-b, *Mém. Hist.* II, p. 390, where for seventh year, second month is given 5 March-2 April 200 B.C. The *Han shu-Annals* only record Kao-tsu's coming to Ch'ang-an.

14) *Mém. Hist.* II, p. 390; DUBS, *o.c.*, p. 119. The *Han shu-Annals* add: in the winter.

Kao-tsu was annoyed at the greatness and elegance of the Wei-yang Palace 未央宮, which was in the process of building [15]. In the Shih chi-Annals this incident is recorded in the eighth year, after the expedition to Tung-yüan [16], whereas the Han shu-Annals place it before the expedition. We may now assume that some sort of contamination has been perpetrated in the Shih Chi, and that the incident of the Wei-yang Palace properly belongs to the second month of the seventh year in stead of the completion of the Ch'ang-lo Palace, which should be placed earlier [17]. Could it have been in the tenth month? We know that the relating of events in the Shih chi-Annals is not strictly chronological [18]. Let us look at a more chronological record, like the Nien piao 年表 in the Shih chi [19], and the Tzŭ chih t'ung chien [20].

The summary in the *Nien piao* under the seventh year of Kao-tsu reads [21]:

> The Ch'ang-lo Palace was completed. The capital was transferred from Lo-yang to Ch'ang-an. Expedition against the Hsiung-nu. The Hsiung-nu besieged us at P'ing-ch'êng.

The *Tzŭ chih t'ung chien* records under the seventh year of Kao-tsu successively:

> Completion of Ch'ang-lo Palace, court-audience (tenth month) [22]. Expedition against the Hsiung-nu, siege of P'ing-ch'êng (no month given, probably tenth month). Arrival of Kao-tsu in Ch'ang-an, incident of Wei-yang Palace, transfer of capital (second month).
>
> under the eighth year:
>
> Expedition to Tung-yüan (winter).
>
> The order of events in the Annals may also be recapitulated:

Shih chi, seventh year:

> Expedition against the Hsiung-nu, siege of P'ing-ch'êng (no month, probably tenth month). Kao-tsu's arrival at Ch'ang-an, completion of Ch'ang-lo Palace, transfer of capital (second month).

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15) DUBS, *o.c.* p. 118. The Wei-yang Palace was completed in the ninth year (DUBS, *o.c.*, p. 121, *Mém. Hist.* II, p. 392). The *Han shu-Annals* do not speak of the completion, but imply it by the statement that in the ninth year, in the winter, the tenth month several nobles came to court at the Wei-yang Palace. The *Shih chi-Annals* record a general audience 大朝 in the ninth year on the occasion of the completion of the Wei-yang Palace.

16) *Mém. Hist.* II, p. 391.

17) Not later. The Ch'ang-lo Palace was a restauration of the ancient Palace Hsing-lo 興樂 of the Ch'in (*Mém. Hist.* II, p. 390, n. 3). It had already begun to be repaired in Oct./Nov. 202 B.C. (DUBS, *o.c.*, p. 109, not mentioned in the *Shih chi-Annals*).

18) *Cf.* DUBS, *o.c.*, p. 42, n. 2.

19) See *Mém. Hist.* I, p. CLXXIV.

20) Called by Otto FRANKE "ein reines Annalenwerk" (in *Sitzungsberichten der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1930, p. 109).

21) *SC*, ch. 22, fol. 2a, *Mém. Hist.* III, p. 187.

22) HU SAN-HSING explains in his commentary that this ceremony was held in the Ch'ang-lo Palace, because the Wei-yang Palace was not yet ready.

eighth year:

Expedition to Tung-yüan (no month). Incident of Wei-yang Palace (no month).

Han shu, seventh year:

Expedition against the Hsiung-nu, siege of P'ing-ch'êng (tenth month). Kao-tsu's arrival at Ch'ang-an, incident of Wei-yang Palace, transfer of capital (second month).

eighth year:

Expedition to Tung-yüan (winter).

Comparison of these summaries teaches us that

the Shih chi (Annals + Nien piao) tries to connect the Ch'ang-lo Palace with the transfer of the capital to Ch'ang-an, and that the Annals are not in agreement with the Nien piao regarding the completion of the Ch'ang-lo Palace, the Nien piao being in accord with Shu-sun T'ung's Biography;

the Han shu ignores the event of the completion of the Ch'ang-lo Palace;

the Tzŭ chih t'ung chien preserves the Ch'ang-lo Palace following the Nien piao and the Biography with respect to the date of the completion, but does not connect it with the transfer of the capital as the Nien piao does, but with the court-ceremony as the ambiguous wording of the Biography would suggest [23]). It follows the Han shu in placing the transfer of the capital immediately after the Wei-yang incident.

I think that the order of events can now be conceived as follows: Kao-tsu was proclaimed emperor at Ting tao in present Shantung on Feb. 28, 202 B.C. [24]). Shu-sun T'ung suggested to devise a court-ceremonial for which he tried to get the assistance of the Confucianists of Lu. He proceeded to work out the ceremonial, this work lasted for over a month [25]). Kao-tsu was asked to review the rehearsal (when is not stated), he approved of it, and ordered the feudal lords and the ministers to assemble in the first-next tenth month (which is the beginning of the year and the occasion for a court-audience). The Ch'ang-lo Palace in Ch'ang-an—Ch'ang-an had been fixed as new capital just before June 26, 202 B.C. [26])—, which had begun to be repaired in Oct./Nov. 202 B.C. [27]) was completed, either in the tenth month of the seventh year (Nov./Dec. 201 B.C.) or a little earlier. *The audience at which the new ceremonial was put into practice took place in this rebuilt palace in Nov./Dec. 201 B.C.* Immediately afterwards Kao-tsu went on an expedition against the Hsiung-nu in the north, returning in the twelfth month of the seventh year (Jan. 200 B.C. [28])). In the second month of the seventh year (Feb./March 200 B.C.) he entered Ch'ang-an again, and protested against the building of the Wei-yang Palace. He acquiesced after Hsiao Ho's explanation, and established his capital at Ch'ang-an [29]).

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23) SSŬ-MA KUANG seems to have followed YEN SHIH-KU's and SSŬ-MA CHÊNG's punctuation, *cf.* p. 305.

24) DUBS, *o.c.* p. 102; *Mém. Hist.* II, p. 381.

25) *HS*, ch. 43, fol. 15a; *SC* ch. 99 fol. 6a.

26) DUBS, *o.c.*, p. 108.

27) *id.*, p. 109, not recorded in *SC*

28) *id.*, p. 117.

29) *id.*, p. 118

THE VALIDITY OF TIBETAN HISTORICAL TRADITION

by

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The publication of the chronicles discovered in Tun Huang for which we are indebted to the learned editors Bacot, Thomas and Toussaint, who spared no pains in deciphering, translating and commenting upon the difficult texts [1]), has placed Tibetan scholars in a position to verify the validity of Tibetan literary tradition. Though Tibetan literature, as an independent activity of Tibetan writers and not as a series of translations of foreign books, is known to us through works generally belonging to a later period—subsequent to the second introduction of the law (*p'yi dar*), beginning with Atīśa, Rin-c'en-bzaṅ-po etc.—, there is no doubt that during the royal dynasty a great literary activity took place for which Buddhists can be responsible only to a very limited extent. Leaving aside other problems,—e.g. that of the survival of *dhyāna* teachings so strong during K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan's times that Kamalaśīla was compelled to write a refutation of his Chinese opponent, the Hva šaṅ Mahāyāna [2]), and that of the fragments of old texts preserved in the gTer-ma [3]),—we can now ask if later Tibetan chroniclers had a notice of such documents like those discovered in Tun Huang and, therefore, to what extent classical Tibetan historical works depend on those more ancient documents.

I do not refer here to the Chinese *Su Tu han can* [4]), quoted by the *Deb-t'er-sňon-po* and by bSod-nams-rgyal-mts'an, which dealt with the T'ang times. Works of this kind are not yet accessible to me. In this paper I want to examine the extant and more authoritative Lamaistic historical works in the light of the newly published documents and to investigate if they can be considered as reliable in the sense that they go back to some sources parallel

1) J. BACOT, F. W. THOMAS, Ch. TOUSSAINT, *Documents de Touen-Houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*, Paris 1940-46. TH 1, TH 2 and TH 3 refer respectively to the Annals (pp. 9-75), the Genealogy (pp. 79-89) and the Chronicle (pp. 93-170). Other abbreviations: GR = *rGyal-rabs*; DLChron. = Chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama; D.T. = *Deb-t'er*.

2) Cf. OBERMILLER, *A Sanskrit MS from Tibet: Kamalaśīla's Bhāvanākrama*, *Journal of the Greater India Society*, vol. II, 1935, pp. 1 ff.; TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 590 and notes.

3) TUCCI, *ibid.*, p. 112 ff.

4) As I stated, *ibid.*, p. 100, probably Hsü t'u fan chuan, Supplementary story concerning T'u fan.

to, or dependent on, the Tun Huang texts. This literary tradition is known through many sources, which have lately been compared by doctor L. Petech [5]). They are: the *rGyal-rabs-gsal-bai-me-loṅ* by bSod-nams-rgyal-mts'an—it is not so old as Laufer thought since it was not written before 1508,—Bu-ston's *C'os 'byuṅ*, finished in the year 1347, the *Deb-t'er-sṅon-po* by gŽon-nu-dpal written in the year 1476, the *Dam-pa-c'os-kyi-'byuṅ-ts'ul* by the Ṅor-lama dKon-mc'og-lhun-grub (1497-1557), *Pad-ma-dkar-poi-c'os-'byuṅ* by Pad-ma-dkar (1562-1592). The *Gaṅs-can-yul-gyi-sa-la-spyod-pai mt'o-ris-kyi-rgyal-blon-gtso-bor-brjod-pai-deb-t'er* said to be composed by Ṅag-dbaṅ-dGe-legs, translated by Liu Li-Ch'ien (edited by the West China Frontier Institute 劉立千; 續藏史鑑), is nothing else but the Cronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama written in 1643. The *Deb-dmar* or *Hulan Deb-t'er* by Kun-dga'-rdo-rje of Ts'al is not accessible to me. Later writers depend on these works and are therefore not to be taken into consideration. But there are some works, which seem to be still unknown to Western scholars and which are older than the books referred to above. They are: the *Bod-kyi-rgyal-rabs* by Grags-pa-rgyal-mts'an (1147-1216) and the *Bod-kyi-rgyal-rabs* by 'P'ags-pa (1238-1280), respectively to be found in the volumes *ta* and *ba* of the Sa-skya-pa lamas (sDe-dge edition) [6]). Here follows the translation of the part of these documents, dealing with the history of Tibet beginning with king Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po.

Vol Ta. *Bod-kyi-rgyal-rabs*, p. 1970 b:

"Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po had three wives; dMo-bza'-k'ri-mo-gñan bore him a son, Guṅ-sroṅ-guṅ-btsan. His minister (read *žaṅ* instead of *žal*) was from the 'Bro-clan. He died before his father; therefore, in the genealogical lists he counts for half (a reign). He married Va-zva-bza'-Maṅ-po-rje [7]), who bore a son, Maṅ-sroṅ-maṅ-btsan. His minister was Ts'e-spoṅ. He married K'ri-c'en-k'rim-lod of the 'Bro-clan, who bore him a son Dur-sroṅ-maṅ-po-rje-rluṅ-nam. The son married mC'ims-bza'-mts'ams-me-tog, who bore a son Me-K'ri-lde-gtsug-brtan. Here the nine and a half happy generations (Guṅ-sroṅ counting for a half) end, and begin the three and a half very happy generations. Me-K'ri-lde had six wives. One of them, Gyim-p'ya-goṅ-ju, was the daughter of Yag-'byam, the prince (*rje*) of China; a son was born: K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan [8]). He married Ts'e-spoṅ-bza'-rMa-rgyal-mts'o-skar-ma, who bore

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5) PETECH, *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*, Calcutta 1939.

6) Another work is the *Šes-bya* by 'P'ags-pa, in which a partial list of Tibetan kings is included. It is translated into Chinese: Taishō Vo. XXXII n. 1645.

7) As regards Va-zva, *corr.*: Ha-ža, see the last *mise au point* in PETECH, *Alcuni nomi geografici nel La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, in *RSO*, XXII (1947) pp. 82-93. Maṅ-po-rje, or better: Maṅ-mo-rje (fem.) means: 'the high honourable', 'the venerable lord (lady)', it is a title.

8) *K'ri*, which is found in the largest part of the names of the emperors as well as in many of princes and ministers and even of queens (see K'ri-c'en K'ri-ma-lod; the feminine form: K'ri-mo is also known, *e.g.* K'ri-mo-sṄen-ldan-steṅ) is a title (cf. *e.g.* Chinese huang, huang shang). The kings used to take their dynastical name when ascending to the throne: see TH, p. 43 (year 712), cf. London doc. 17. The names under which they are known are in fact mere titles. *Sroṅ* means righteous; *btsan* is the name of a class of gods, chiefly of tribal gods in Bon religion. As to *lde* or *ldeu*, probably it is connected with the word *ldaṅ-ba*; to rise, to be elevated; it may be explained recollecting a passage of the *rGyal-rabs* (p. 54 of my ms.) in which after having spoken of four

him four sons. Mu-k'ri-btsan-po died in T'ar-pa. Mu-ne-btsan-po reigned for one year and nine months, but then he was killed by his mother; therefore he counts for half a generation.

Then the power was taken by K'ri-lde-sroṅ-btsan. He married 'Bro-bza'-Lha-rgyal-guṅ-skar-ma, who bore three sons. The eldest, K'ri-btsan-ma, was poisoned while he was in the South in Bum-t'aṅ by 'Broṅ-bza'-Legs-rje and sNa-nam-bza'-Me-rje-t'eu; (the other son) Glaṅ-dar-ma was not elected king, because he had the head of a monkey and was ugly and fool. The younger brother was K'ri-gtsug-lde-Ral-pa-can; with him the three and a half very happy generations are completed.

Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po was born in the year fire-ox; he was (an incarnation of) sPyan-ras-gzigs (Skt. Avalokiteśvara); when he was 13, his father died and then he reigned for 69 years; so at the age of 82 he disappeared into the image of sPyan-ras-gzigs with eleven heads in the sPrul-snaṅ temple. So it is said; but others state that he died in Zal-mo-sgaṅ in 'P'an-yul. Gun-sroṅ took hold of the power when he was 13 [9]), and he kept it for five years; he died at 18; then the power was taken over again by his father.

Maṅ-sroṅ was born in the year fire-dog after one cycle (*lo-skor-gcig*); his grandfather died and Maṅ-sroṅ reigned for 15 years; he died at 27, in spring, in rTsaṅ-bar-snaṅ (TH 1: Ts'aṅ-baṅ-sna). When Dur-sroṅ was born, his father had already died [10]); he was born in the year water-mouse in sGrags (TH. sGregs); he was immediately elected king

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classes of Bon-po priests (cf. TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Appendix 2) it is stated "As regards the power, it was of the *sgruṅ* and *ldeu*" (cf. Sum-pa-mk'an-po, p. 150, l. 17). According to *bKa'-t'aṅ-sde-lṅa, rGyal-po-bka'-t'aṅ*, p. 19-60, they originated at the times of gÑa-k'ri-btsan-po, being invested with the Lha-c'os. This shows that *lde, ldeu*, had a religious significance, which can only be explained by the fact that formerly the kings were not only the political but the religious chiefs as well of the community.

9) It is well known that the Tibetan kings ascended the throne when 13 years old. This was due to Bon-po ideas according to which the number 13 was a sacred number. It implied most probably perfection like the age of kumāra or kiśora in India, viz. 16; cf. *sodaśakala*, the whole, the 16 *tithis*, etc. The election at 13 does not imply a co-government of father and son; the case of Guṅ-sroṅ seems to show that when the son ascended the throne the father retired; in fact it is stated that when Gun-sroṅ died, his father took again the power. The case of K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan is also worthy of notice: his father died just when he was 13 (754 A.D.). As a rule there is no one of the first kings who ascended the throne after his fifteens. The fathers died generally before the sons reached 13 years of age.

Guṅ-sroṅ died at 18, thus allowing his father to ascend again the throne. Maṅ-sroṅ died at 27, the very year in which his son 'Dus-sroṅ was born. K'ri-lde-gtsug-btsan saw the light the same year in which his father passed away. K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan was elected after his father's death, when he was 13 years old. With Mu-ne-btsan-po this normal occurrence seems to be interrupted: he is elected at 25, K'ri-lde-sroṅ-btsan at 23. What does all this mean? According to me, that these deaths were hardly natural and that they betray a sharp conflict of interests among the various clans and chiefly between the kings and their supporters on one side and the clans of their wives and their ministers on the other.

10) 'P'ags-pa expresses this fact by the word *rMug*; this is certainly a technical term. We have many words derived from the same root, which have a similar meaning: *rmu-ma* dullness, gloomy; *rmugs* foggy, languor; *rmun-po* dull; *smug-pa* fog; all this evidently points to a notion similar to that of mourning, following the kings' death, when the court was deprived of its splendour and the funeral ceremonies previous to the final burial of the corpse took place.

TUN HUANG 1 & 2	GRAGS-PA-RGYAL-MTS'AN	'P'AGS-PA	
K'ri-sroṅ-btsan (569)-649 bird year (HACKIN, *Formulaire Sanscrit-Tibétain*: Sroṅ-brtsan-sgam-po)	id., * fire (corr.: earth)-ox 568 † at 82, in 649 or 650	id., * fire-ox † earth-mouse	Sroṅ-bt
(no mention)	Guṅ-sroṅ-guṅ-btsan † at 18	id.	id.
K'ri-Maṅ-slon-maṅ-brtsan	Maṅ-sroṅ-maṅ-btsan * fire (corr.: earth)-dog 650 † at 27, water- (corr.: fire)-mouse, 676	id.	Maṅ-sr
K'ri-'dus-sroṅ	Dur-sroṅ-maṅ-po-rje-rluṅ-nam * water (corr.: fire)-mouse 676 † at 29, iron (corr.: wood)-dragon, 704	Dur-sroṅ-maṅ-sroṅ id.	id. (sKi
K'ri-lde-btsug-brtsan	Me-K'ri-lde-gtsug-btsam * iron (corr.: wood)-dragon 704 † at 63, water (corr.: wood)-horse, 754	id.	K'ri-lde-
K'ri sroṅ-lde-brtsan (TH 2) (HACKIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 34: K'ri-sroṅ-ldem-brtsan)	K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan * iron (corr.: water)-horse 742 † at 56, wood (corr.: fire) ox, 797	id.	K'ri-sroṅ
Mu-ne-brtsan-po; lDe-sroṅ-brtsan	Mu-ne-btsan-po * water (corr.: wood)-tiger 774 elected at 25, reigned one year and nine months (798-799); K'ri-lde-sroṅ-btsan * wood-dragon 764 † at 54, fire-bird 817	Mu-ne-btsan-po * water-horse elected at 25, † after 2 years; K'ri-lde-sroṅ-btsan * wood-dragon † at 54, fire-bird	Mu-ne-btsan-po
U'-dum-btsan; K'ri-gtsug-lde	Glaṅ-dar-ma * water-sheep 803 † water-dog 842; K'ri-gtsug-lde-Ral-pa-can * fire-dog 806 † at 36, iron-bird 841 (HACKIN, *op. cit.*: K'ri-gtsug-lde-brtsan)	Ral-pa-can * fire-mouse elected at 12, fire-bird † at 36, iron-bird; Glaṅ-dar-ma * water-sheep † water-dog	
(end of the TH Chron.)			
	'Od-sruṅ * water-hog 843 † at 63, wood-ox 905; Yum-brtan	(in continuation the same as in Grags-pa-rgyal-mts'an's list)	gNam-ld
	dPal-'k'or-btsan * water-ox 893 † at 31, water-sheep 923		dPal-'k'o
(HACKIN, *op. cit.*: K'ri-skyi-liṅ; bKra-śis-rtsag-dpal)	bKra-śis-brtsegs; K'ri-skyid-ldiṅ		K'ri-bkra brtseg-
dPal-byin-mgon; bKra-śis-mgon; Leg-gtsug-mgon; dPal-lde; 'Od-lde; K'ri-lde	dPal-lde; 'Od-lde; bsKyid-lde; dPal-mgon (Yar-kluṅ house); bKra-śis-mgon (Žaṅ-žuṅ house); lDe-gtsug-mgon (Mon-yul)		

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rGyal-rabs	Fifth Dalai Lama	Bu-ston
Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po	Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po	K'ri-lde-sroṅ-btsan * fire-ox † at 82
Goṅ-ri-guṅ-btsan	id., † at 18; his father takes again the reign	Maṅ-sroṅ-maṅ-btsan 1)
Maṅ-sroṅ-maṅ-btsan * fire-dog † at 27	Maṅ-sroṅ-maṅ-btsan † at 27	Guṅ-sroṅ-guṅ-btsan 1)
'Dur-sroṅ-maṅ-po-rje * water-mouse † at 29	'Dus-sroṅ-maṅ-po-rje-rluṅ-nam 'p'rul-gyi-rgyal-po	'Du-sroṅ-maṅ-po-rje-blo-nam 'p'rul-rgyal-po
K'ri-lde-gtsug-stan-mes-ag-ts'oms * iron-dragon † at 63	K'ri-lde-gtsug-brtan-mes-ag-ts'oms	K'ri-lde-gtsug-brtan
K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan	K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan † iron-snake 801	K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan † at 69
Mu-ne-btsan-po * water-tiger † at 29 Mu-tig-btsan-po K'ri-lde-sroṅ-btsan † fire-bird	Mu-rug-btsan-po Mu-k'ri-btsan-po Mo-ne-btsan-po, reigned one year and seven months Mu-tig-btsan-po-sad-na-legs elected king at 4 years Erroneously called by some K'ri-lde-sroṅ-btsan	Mu-ne-btsan-po, reigned for one year and seven months; † at 17 K'ri-lde-btsan-sad-na-legs
Tsad-ma Dar-ma Ral-pa-can * fire-dog † at 36, iron-bird	gTsad-Lha-rje-ma Lhun-grub Dar-ma Ral-pa-can * fire-dog	K'ri-lde-btsug-ral-pa-can killed at 36, iron-bird K'ri-dar-ma-u-t'um-btsan
(in continuation the same as in the Deb-t'er)	'Od-sruṅ Yum-brtan (in continuation the same as in Bu-ston)	Yum-brtan 'Od-sruṅ † at 63 dPal-'k'or-btsan † at 31
		bKra-šis-brtseg-pa-dpal K'ri-skyid-lde-ñi-ma-mgon 2) dPal-gyi-lde-rig-pa-mgon bKra-šis-lde-mgon lDe-gtsug-mgon

...om
K'ri-u-btsan-dar-ma
Kyi-lde-ñi-ma-mgon
bKra-šis-lde-mgon
lDe-gtsug-mgon

1) Bu-ston's inversion of the usual order, probably due to a mistake of the copyists, is followed by the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, pp. 32 and 84.
2) According to other sources the elder son is K'ri-skyid-lde-ñi-ma.

and died at 29 in the country of 'Jaṅ [11]); in charge of the corpse were Cog-gru and K'oṅ-k'ri; K'ri-lde-gtsug-brtan was born in the spring of the year the father died and he was immediately elected king. At an age of 63, in the year water-horse, he died. It is said that he passed away in Yar-'brog-spas-ba.

K'ri-sroṅ was born in Brag-dmar (TH 1, p. 41, 42), in the spring of the year iron-horse; when he was 13, his father died; he was then elected king and reigned for 13 years. At 56 he died in Zun-'praṅ in the year wood-ox. So it is heard.

Mu-ne-btsan-po was born in Brag-dmar in the year water-tiger. At 25 (xyl.: *rtsa-lṅa* for *ñi-šu-rtsa-lṅa*) he took hold of the power and reigned for one year and nine months, being killed in sPun-p'u by his mother.

His younger brother K'ri-lde-sroṅ-btsan was born in Brag-dmar in autumn of the year wood-dragon.

When the elder brother was killed, he took hold of the reign for 31 years; at 54, in autumn of the year fire-bird, he died.

K'ri-gtsug-lde-btsan-Ral-pa-can was born in the year fire-dog, in 'O-can-de'u [12]). He was the youngest of the three brothers and was possessed of all sorts of good qualities; when he was 21, his father having passed away, he took hold of the reign; he reigned for 24 years; he ruled over two of the three parts of 'Dsam-gliṅ. He was an incarnation of P'yag-na-rdo-rje (Skt. Vajrapāṇi). He died at 36 in the year iron-bird; K'ri-sroṅ took hold of the power in the year water-horse; in the year iron-bird K'ri-gtsug-lde-btsan died; up to this time for 99 years the Holy Law greatly spread: these were the five happy generations; afterwards, the Holy Law and the institutions were obscured, the imperial power decayed. The eldest of the three brothers was rTsad-pa, who was born in the iron year; without getting hold of the power, he was poisoned in Bum-t'aṅ in Lho-brag by 'Bro-bza'-Legs-rje and sNa-nam-Maṅ-po-rje; his lineage still remains (*de-yi-sňd-rgyud-bžugs*).

The second son was Glaṅ-dar-ma, who had a head of a dragon; he was born in the year water-sheep. When he was 15, his father died; when he was 19 his younger brother died. He took hold of the power; for six months he ruled according the righteousness, but about the end of the year iron-bird the Holy Law was obscured; then, for six and a half months he reigned sinfully. All together he ruled for one year and half a month.

In the year of the dog he was killed by the Bodhisattva dPal-gyi-rdo-rje (Skt. Śrīvajra). He had two sons: 'Od-sruṅ and Yum-brtan. 'Od-sruṅ was born in sPar-p'u in the year water-hog; immediately after that (event), he took hold of the power for three (63?) years; he died in 'P'aṅs in Yar-kluṅs, in the year wood-ox. Yum-brtan is said to have died at 36. The period when these two princes lived, was the beginning of a bad time. The outer boundaries (*'p'yi-so-ka*) escaped (from the Tibetan authority) and in Tibet there was internal strife.

dPal-'k'or was born in 'P'aṅs-dar (for: *mda'*) in the year water-ox; when he was 13,

11) La-myava of TH, viz. the Mo so country.

12) TH 1, pp. 39 ff. *Mahāvyutpatti*: On-caṅ-do, BU-STON, p. 130: U-šaṅ-rdo.

his father died; he reigned for 18 years and during this time he founded one hundred temples and he had devotion to the Law, greatly reproving the actions of his grandfather. He died in Yar-luṅ--šar-po at 31, in the year water-sheep.

Then the Tibetan institutions were troubled and the times decayed. In the year earth-ox there was a rebellion (*k'jen-log*) and in the year fire-bird the (royal) tombs were dug up. The two sons of dPal-'k'or divided between themselves the upper and lower countries; then (read *yaṅ* instead of *yab*), the six brothers (their sons). [Follows a short insertion on the spread of Bon and Buddhism].

The eldest of the two sons of dPal-'k'or-btsan was bKra-šis-brtsegs-btsan; he had three sons. As regards the descendants of the eldest dPal-sde, they were: the Guṅ-t'aṅ-pa, the Klu-rgyal-pa, the sPyi-pa, the Lha-rtse-pa, Glaṅ-luṅ-btsan-skor-pa. The descendants of the second son 'Od-sde were: the Grom-pa, the Srad-pa, the Ñaṅ-stod-pa, the family of Lha-c'en-dPal-'bar of Yar-luṅ. The descendants of the third one, viz. sKyid-sde were: the Mus-pa and some in Ñaṅ-stod (Ñaṅ-stod-pa-rtog-'ga'). The younger son of dPal-'k'or-btsan was K'ri-skyid-ldiṅ; he had three sons. The descendants of the first dPal-gyi-mgon were the Mar-yul-pa. The decendants of the second, bKra-šis-mgon were those of Žaṅ-žuṅ (inner and outer) [13]; the Pu-raṅ-pa (xyl.: Pu-roṅ-pa), the Ya-rtse-pa. [14]. The descendants of the third sDe-gtsug-mgon were those settled in Mon-yul, like, K'u-'bu etc.

Many incorrect genealogies are found; but having, in various ways, tested and examinated them, some correct ones can also be met. These have been condensed in a booklet. This extremely pleasant summary was written by the Ša-kya-dGe-bsñen Grags-pa-rgyal-mts'an in the monastery of Sa-skya. May it be useful to the holy teaching and to living beings".

Vol. Ba. *Bod-kyi-rgyal-rabs*, p. 360 b:

"Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po was born in the year fire-ox; when he was 13 years old, he took hold of the royal power; he reigned for 69 years and died at 82 in the year earth-mouse. Though Guṅ-(xyl.: *c'uṅ*) sroṅ ruled for five years, he is not reckoned apart (*logs-su-mi-graṅ*), since his father again reigned (over the country).

Maṅ-sroṅ-maṅ-btsan was born in the year fire-dog; he took hold of the royal power when he was 13 years old and reigned for 15 years; he died in the year water-mouse at 27.

Dur-sroṅ-Maṅ-po-rje was born in the year water-mouse in the period of mourning (*rmug*); immediately after his birth he was elected king. When he was 29, in the year iron-dragon, he died in 'Jaṅ.

K'ri-lde-gtsug-brtan was born in the spring of that same year iron-dragon. Towards the end of that year his father died and he was elected king. He died at 63 in the year water-horse.

K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan was born in the year water-horse; he was elected king and reigned for 43 years; at 56 in the year wood-ox he died.

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13) Žaṅ-žuṅ (inner and outer) evidently refers to Žaṅ-žuṅ proper and to Guge, which in Tibetan tradition are distinguished, as I have shown elsewhere.

14) Ya-rtse: Western Puhrang, most probably Taklakot. Cf. WASSILIEW, *Geografia Tibeta*, p. 8.

Mu-ne-btsan-po was born in the year water-horse, and was elected king at 25; after two years he died. His younger brother K'ri-lde-sroṅ-(xyl.: *sraṅ*) btsan was born in the autumn of the year wood-dragon; he took hold of the kingdom when he was fully 24 and reigned for 31 years. He died at 54 in the year fire-bird.

Ral-pa-can was born in the year fire-mouse and was elected king at 12 in the year fire-bird. He reiged for 24 years; he died at 36 in the year iron-bird.

From the year water-horse, when K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan was elected king, up to the year iron-bird, when Ral-pa-can died, 100 years elapsed. Up to this it was an excellent happy time, since religion and power spread in Tibet.

The elder brother of Ral-pa-can was Glaṅ-dar-ma, who was born in the year water-sheep; he took hold of the kingdom towards the end of the year iron-bird when he was 39. For six months he ruled according to righteousness; then for six and a half month he ruled sinfully; all together he reigned for one year and a half month. He died in the year water-dog. His son 'Od-sruṅ was born in the year water-dog and was immediately elected king. At 63 he died in 'P'aṅ-mda' in Yar-kluṅs in the year wood-ox. The son of 'Od-sruṅ was dPal-gor-(*sic*) btsan, who was born in the year water-ox; he took hold of the power at 13, reigned for eighteen years and died in the year water-sheep. dPal-gor-btsan had two sons. The eldest was bKra-šis-brtsegs. He had three sons, the eldest being dPal-sde. His descendants were Klu-rgyal-ba of Guṅ-t'aṅ, sPyi-pa, Lha-rtse-pa, bTsad-kor-pa of Gla-luṅ. The second (of the three sons of bKra-šis-brtsegs) was 'Od-lde; his descendants were Grom-pa, Srad-pa, Naṅ-stod-pa, the Lha-c'en-dPal-'bar-ba of Yar-kluṅ. The third was bsKyid-lde; his descendants were Mus-pa, 'Jad-pa and some who went to Naṅ-stod (*naṅ-stod-pa-'da'-'ga'-žig-yod*).

The eldest son of bsKyid-lde, the son of dPal-gor-btsan, was dPal-mgon; his descendants were the princes (*btsad po*) of Yar-luṅs. The second son was bKra-šis-mgon whose descendants were those of Žaṅ-žuṅ (inner and outer), the princes of Pu-raṅs and those of Ya-ts'e. The third son of bsKyid lde was lDe-gtsug-mgon whose descendants were: K'u-'bu-pa, and some who settled in Mon-yul.

This book was written in the year wood-hog 1275 in the 16th of the month [Name and number of the month are missing] by 'P'ags-pa in rKa-mdo in Sa-skya".

The contents of these two treatises may now be summarized in the following table in which a comparison is attempted, with the most important historical works of Tibet now accessible.

If we now compare these two booklets with the manuscripts of Tun Huang it will appear that the genealogical tables of *Ta* correspond very closely to the manuscript 249 of Paris (TH 2). That the author had before his eyes a list of this kind is proved not only by the correspondence between the two catalogues, but also by the fact that he adds, immediately after, a second more detailed list, containing the indication of the cyclic years as in the Tun-Huang annals, missing in the first genealogy. This repetition can only be explained if the Sa-skya-pa writer depended on two different sources, a fact which is confirmed by

the occasional different spelling of some names. Moreover, even as regards chronological data, the Sa-skya-pa masters evidently drew their information from a text akin to that of Tun Huang; in fact the dates correspond, provided we accept only the indication of the animal of the duodenary cycle, and do not take into consideration the first element.

Though the date fire-ox given as the birth-year of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po is wrong and therefore even the following dates are implicitly wrong of one or two cycles, it corresponds to truth if we read only the second part of the chronological indication. In fact since Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po died at 82 in the year 649, he must have been born in an ox-year 568; the birth-year fire-dog for Maṅ-sroṅ is wrong but it is true that he was born in a dog year; he died at 27 in a mouse year; in this very year Dus-sroṅ, his son, was born; the dragon year is equally that of the latter's death and that in which his son K'ri-gtsug-lde was born. Then, since the Sa-skya writers state that this king passed away in the horse year, this horse year missing in the TH chronicles must be the year 754. It therefore appears that the Sa-skya-pa masters had access to documents akin to the chronicles, fragments of which have been found in Turkestan, and that they or their sources added the first element in the indication of the cycle.

We may even add that, since these dates contained in the Sa-skya-pa chronicles are exact, as the preceding comparison has shown, we may safely rely even on the chronological information concerning Ral-pa-can and his successors. The same agreement is to be found regarding other details, e.g. the names of the kings' wives, mentioned all along Tibetan historiography apart from some occasional differences in spelling, which are easily to be explained in a country, where copyists are used to mishandling manuscripts. Here follows an enumeration:

A. the wives of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po are according to:

TH 3, p. 88: K'ri-mo-mÑen-ldoṅ-steṅ, probably the same as mentioned in
TH 1, p. 33: sÑa-mo-steṅ, K'ri-mo-steṅs (years 671 and 688);
GR, p. 111 b; besides the Nepalese and Chinese wife: Žaṅ-žuṅ-bza' and Moṅ-bza'-K'ri-lcam;
DLChron., p. 17: Lha-gcig K'ri-btsun the Nepalese, Lha-gcig-koṅ-jo, Ru-yod-bza', Žaṅ-žuṅ-bza', Moṅ-bza'-k'ri-lcam.

B. the wife of Guṅ-sroṅ-maṅ-sroṅ:

TH 3, p. 88: Maṅ-mo-rje-k'ri-dkar [15]. She is the grandmother Maṅ-spaṅs, died in 706.
GR and DLChron. do not mention her.

C. the wife of Maṅ-sroṅ-maṅ-btsan:

TH 3, p. 88: K'ri-ma-lod of the 'Bro clan (year 700); also named K'ri-mo-laṅ (year 700). The is the mother of 'Du-sroṅ-maṅ-po-rje (cf. the years 701, 702, 704 and 705).

15) Maṅ-mo-rje, the feminine of Maṅ-po-rje is a honorific title (cf. note 7).

She had a power as no other queen ever had. After the death of the grand-mother Maṅ-spaṅs (year 706) she is called grand-mother and takes part in the political events (708-712). Her importance is shown by the fact that K'ri-lde-gtsug was enthroned only in the year 712 receiving the name K'ri-lde-gtsug-brtsan, when the grand-mother died, nine years after the death of his father. Together with her clan she ruled during the regency.

GR, p. 122: 'Bro-bza'-K'rim-blod (mistake for: K'ri-ma-lod):
DLChron., p. 30 d: 'Bro-bza'-k'ra-po-K'ri-ma-lod.

D. the wife of 'Du-sroṅ-maṅ-po-rje:

TH 1, p. 46: bTsan-ma-tog. She died in the year 722;
TH 3; bTsan-ma-t'og-t'og-steṅ of mC'ims;
GR, p. 122: Me-tog of mC'ims;
DLChron., p. 30 b: lC'ims-bza'-bTsan-mo-rtog-ge.

E. the wives of Me-k'ri-lde-gtsug-ldan:

TH 1; Kim-šaṅ, died in the year 739 [16]);
TH 3 knows of another wife: Man-mo-rje-bži-steṅ;
GR, p. 123 a: lJaṅ-me-k'ri-btsun; p. 123 b: Gyan-šin-koṅ-jo;
DLChron., p. 31: 'Jam mo-K'ri-btsun and Koṅ-je.

F. the wives of K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan:

TH 3: Ts'e-spoṅ-rMa-rgyal-ldoṅ-skar;
GR, p. 127 b enumerates five wives: Ts'e-spoṅ-bza'-ma-tog-sgrod, mK'ar-c'en-bza'-Ts'o-rgyal, 'Bro-bza'-Byaṅ-c'ub-gron, 'C'ims-(corr.: mC'ims)-bza'-lha-mo-bzaṅ, Po-yon-bza':
DLChron., p. 40: Ts'e-spoṅ-bza'.

G. the wife of K'ri-lde-sroṅ-btsan (sad-na-legs):

TH 3: Lha-rgyal-maṅ-mo-rje of 'Bro.
GR: rTse.

The conclusions to be drawn from these facts seem to be that, while the Sa-skya-pa depended on sources related to the TH. documents, the authority which they enjoyed was largely responsible for the subsequent historical literature [17]). Let us in fact compare the most important genealogical lists now accessible, summarized in the preceding table. These

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16) According to BUSHELL (*The Early History of Tibet from Chinese Sources*, *JRAS*, 1880, p. 456) the name of the Chinese wife was Chin chêng.

17) The only difference is supplied by bu-ston, who gives Maṅ-sroṅ as the son of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po and Guṅ-sroṅ as his son. But this is probably due to a mistake of the copyist, since it is contradicted by all other lists; it is followed by the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, pp. 32 and 84.

show, beyond any doubt, that the Tibetan chroniclers drew their information most probably from the Sa-skya writers or from allied sources which are, on their hand, based on texts similar to the Chronicles discovered in Tun Huang. So we can accept as well founded the traditional account of Tibetan history. I mean as a whole, in its skeleton, without of course taking into consideration the legends and myths which later on were circulated and grew up concealing, as it were, the authentical kernel of the ancient chronicles. And, in fact, Tibetan historians seem to have preserved of these chronicles nothing else but the genealogical and chronological schemes; the main events which led Tibet to fight against China, the ups and downs of this struggle, the rivalry of clans, are passed unnoticed by the Lamaist chroniclers: their interest is only the Holy Law, its fortunes and propagation. The stories of its masters take the upper hand: kings are recorded chiefly as patrons and supporters of Buddhism. History becomes slowly a *c'os-'byuṅ.* So in the GR. or in the DLChron. we find only occasional references to historical facts: e.g. to the war waged by China against Tibet after the death of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po and the first years of Maṅ-sroṅ-btsan-po's reign "Then the minister mGar repelled the invaders, but he was killed in the battle and the Chinese reached Lhasa and burnt down the Potala" (DLChron., p. 300; GR, p. 122 of my ms.). This evidently refers to the same facts alluded to by TH., year 659, though the leader who fell at the head of his army is said to be the da-rgyal Maṅ-po-rje. *"da rgyal maṅ po rjes mts'o nag stoṅ rur rgya seu den paṅ daṅ nol t'abs bgyiste da rgyal gyaṅ gum śiṅ brgyad k'ri stoṅ la rdugs"*, which has been translated by the editors of the text: "Le da-rgyal Maṅ-po-rje traita à Stoṅ-ru du Lac Noir avec le Chinois Se'u-den-paṅ. Bien que le da-rgyal fût tué, ils furent réduits de 80.000 à mille." But I think that we should better understand: "The da-rgyal Maṅ-po-rje fought (nol-t'abs = snol-t'ab) in Stoṅ-ru of mTs'o-nag against the Chinese Seu-den-paṅ; though the da-rgyal was killed, the 80.000 (Chinese) were decimated to 1.000."

Another reference to military facts is to be found in GR, p. 136, where the victory of Lha-bzaṅ-klu-dpal is related at the times of K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan, when Siṅ-kun, Ceu-mk'ar and sMan-rtse were conquered; then mention is made of the wars under the reign of Ral-pa-can, when peace was signed between China and Tibet, and the rDo-riṅs were set up.

It is strange that in classical historiography no mention is made of these booklets of the two Sa-skya-pa masters, but this is perhaps due to the fact that their data were globally inserted in later works, *e.g.* in the *Deb-t'er* and in the *rGyal-rabs*, which quickly acquired a greater notoriety; quite apart is of course the information derived from Chinese sources and chiefly from the *rGyal-yig-ts'aṅ* translated into Tibetan by Rin-c'en-grags-pa (D.T., Ka, p. 23 b).

The conflict between these two traditions appears very clearly for the period between K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan and Ral-pa-can,

In fact, as regards the sons of K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan, the literary tradition varies.

According to the DLChron. (p. 40 a) Ts'e-spoṅ-bza' bore him three sons. The elder, i.e. Mu-ne-btsan-po succeeded his father on the throne, but after one year and seven months he was poisoned by his mother; in the DLChron. he is said to be the same as Mu-k'ri-btsan-po,

who therefore is not acknowledged to be a different elder brother as other authors did (*e.g.* dPa'-bo-gtsug-lag). The second son was, according to the same writer, Mu-rug-btsan-po; trying to enter the room were his father and the *žan-blon* were holding a war-council, he was prevented to do so by the son of that minister. In a fit of rage the prince killed him. Judgment followed and according to the advise of the minister of 'Gos the prince was sent into exile among the Mon. This banishment gave origin to an epic, the echo of which remains in some allusions contained in some rÑin-ma-pa traditions and in the works of the fifth Dalai Lama. Then he was called back, but he was killed by the sNa-nam-blon in order to revenge the murder on his relative. The third son was Mu-tig-btsan-po Sad-na-legs, who ascended the throne four years old. The same author thinks that to call this one K'ri-sroṅ-btsan means to overlook the statement contained in the second chapter of the *sgra-sbyor*; this refers to the beginning of the Tibetan translation of the *Mahāvyutpatti,* where K'ri-lde-sroṅ-btsan is the name for Ral-pa-can [18]), rightly called K'ri-gtsug-lde-btsan-Ral-pa-can (in the Hackin document). The Chronicles of TH 1 know of two sons of K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan; the first son Lhas-bon is called the heir (years 738 and 741); when he died, the second son Sroṅ-lde-btsan, born in the year 742, came to the throne.

TH 3 knows Mu-ne-btsan-po and lDe-sroṅ-brtsan. Since the last prince is said to be the father of K'ri-gtsug-lde-brtsan (Ral-pa-can), it is clear that he is the same as K'ri-lde-sroṅ-btsan of the Sa-skya-pa chronicles.

Now the identity of Mu-ne-btsan-po may be discussed: is he the same as Lhas-bon recorded in TH 1? This is quite possible in the case that Mu-ne-btsan-po—as the presence of the word *btsan-po* points out—was the name the prince received when he ascended the throne; anyhow, he cannot be identified with 'Jaṅ-ts'a-Lha-dbaṅ quoted in GR [19]), since he was the son of another wife of K'ri-lde-gtsug-brtan, viz. the 'Jaṅ-mo. He was named according to the custom of naming the son after the clan of his mother or better after the name of his mother's father. The Sa-skya-pa sources, which, as we saw, always agree with the TH Chron., state that K'ri-sroṅ-ide-btsan died in the year 797, when he was succeeded by his son Mu-ne-btsan-po, who reigned for one year and nine months 798 or 799; this quite corresponds with the information of the *Chiu T'ang shu*: "the Tsan-p'u, who died in the 4th month of the 13th year Chêng yüan (797) was succeeded by his eldest son, who died one year afterwards, when the second son succeeded to the throne". The disagreement with the Chinese sources is therefore to be found—according to me—not as regards Mu-ne-btsan-po, as Doctor Petech thinks (*op. cit.* p. 55), but rather concerning his successor or rather successors, as the Chinese sources could make us to believe. In fact this anonymous king of the *Chiu T'ang shu,* corresponding to Mu-ne-btsan, is followed by a younger brother, who died in 804, and who is named: Tsu chih tsien. This king is quite unknown to the Tibetan lists. Rin-c'en-grags-pa, the translator of the *rGya-yig-ts'aṅ* (*Deb-t'er,* ka, p. 23 b), is obliged therefore to

18) *Arthaviniścaya,* ed. FERRARI, in: *Atti della Reale Accademia d'Italia,* Memorie, Classe sc. mor. e stor., Serie VII, vol. IV (1944), p. 545

19) THOMAS, in *JRAS,* 1928, p. 85; Doc. de TH. 0.51, no. 1.

render his name by a mere transliteration from the Chinese into Tibetan: Dsu-c'e-btsan-po. The conclusion is that, either the Tibetan chronicles have lost notice of a king whose relation to his predecessor and to his successor as well are unknown, or that there is a mistake in the Chinese sources, which divided Sad-na-legs' rule (798-817) into two reigns. To the validity of the Chinese tradition two facts would give support: first the statement of the fifth Dalai Lama that Sad-na-legs ascended the throne when four years old, since this cannot be true with regard to K'ri-lde-sroṅ-btsan, who was born in 764 and died in 817 at an age of 54; secondly the existence in some Tibetan sources, as in some redactions of the GR, of the name of another king: lDiṅ-k'ri (lDeṅ-k'ri in my mss., p. 134), placed between Sad-na-legs and Ral-pa-can. But against this view, there are the TH Chronicles, which on account of their age have their special importance. On the other hand, the fact remains that the tradition was here not so sure as in the other cases, as is evidently shown by the opposite views of the sources and the elaborate discussions caused by this period of Tibetan history to be met in the works of the most famous Chronicles of Blo-bzaṅ-rgya-mts'o and in Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o's *Vai-ḍū-rya-gya'-sel*.

Other sources, which, though not properly historical, go back to old times or documents, viz. some rÑiṅ-ma-pa texts such as the *bKa'-t'aṅ-sde-lṅa*, make mention of three sons of K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan. In fact, in the second book of that work, i.e. in the *rGyal-poi-bka'-t'aṅ* (p. 19, 6), we read that K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan had three sons: Mu-ne-btsan-po, Mu-rug-btsan-po and mJiṅ-yon-Sad-na-legs; the first died in Northern mDo-k'ams, the second while he was having his meal. Later on (*ibid.*, p. 27) it is said that by the *ācārya*, i.e. Padmasambhava, he was called Mu-tig-btsan-po, by his father K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan, by the Naṅ-blon mJiṅ-yon-Sad-na-legs, and by the Chinese Mu-ri-btsan-po. On the other hand, according to the *Ra-tnai-gter-ma*, viz. a *gTer-ma* discovered by Ratnagliṅ-pa, quoted by Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o in the *Vai-ḍū-rya-gya'-sel* (p. 12), after K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan there was one year of strife, caused by the four wives of the old king; then, for one year and three months, the power was taken over by Mu-ne-btsan-po, finally poisoned. Then the tutorship of Mu-tig-btsan-po was taken by Mu-rug-btsan-po; being 25 years old, Mu-tig-btsan-po was elected king and reigned up to his death, which occurred when he was 65 years old. He was succeeded by Sad-na-legs, followed by Ral-pa-can.

But these dates are contradicted by the Chinese sources and the Sa-skya-pa chronicles. According to another famous book, the *sBa-bžed*, being the history of bSam-yas and known under various redactions (*Vai-ḍū-rya-gya'-sel*, p. 136) followed by the *Deb-dmar* (*ibid.*, p. 136), K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan had three sons: Mu-ne-btsan-po, Mu-tig-btsan-po and K'ri-lde-sroṅ-btsan; Mu-ne-btsan-po reigned 17 months, Mu-tig-btsan-po was killed and K'ri-lde-btsan-po was elected king when only four years old. Then the *C'os-'byuṅ* by the sPyan-sṅa bSod-nams-grags-pa, quoted by the same *Vai-ḍū-rya-gya'-sel* states that Mu-ne-btsan-po reigned 7 years and 9 months.

Leaving aside the number of the sons of K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan, which is of no importance to the question of his successors, it is clear that Tibetan tradition is divided into two groups: one group, starting from the TH Chronicles, knows of only two kings between K'ri-sroṅ-lde-

btsan and Ral-pa-can. This is the opinion of the Sa-skya-pas, once more testifying their dependence on sources akin to the TH documents. The other group in represented by the tradition to be met with in Chinese sources and introduced into Tibet by the *rGya-yig-ts'an*, translated by Rin-c'en-grags-pa and followed by some redactions of the *rGyal-rabs*. The Cronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama represent a compromise, largely influenced by the rÑiṅ-ma-pa tradition under the inspiration of which an epic cycle developed, its hero being Mu-rug-btsan-po. We are not yet in a position to state which tradition corresponds to truth.

SKT. KŪṬAGĀRA

by

K. DE VREESE
Delft

Among the different kinds of structures mentioned in Ancient Indian literature is found, as is well known, some special building denoted both in Skt. and Pali by the term *kūṭāgāra*. In Sanskrit literature proper the word *kūṭāgāra* is only incidentally met with and has notably been signalized hitherto only in the Rāmāyaṇa, Mṛcchakaṭika, and Viṣṇupurāṇa [1]); in buddhistic texts, on the contrary, Sanskrit as well as Pali, owing to their quite different structure and scope it is of a rather frequent occurrence and proves, moreover, to be the subject of many an interesting simile [2]). Its etymology formally viewed gives no trouble (*kūṭa-agāra*) and has to my knowledge never been called in question by any scholar. Nevertheless, its correct meaning has not yet been sufficiently determined nor its syntactical analysis been settled so far in a satisfactory manner.

Strange to observe the word *kūṭāgāra* does not occur in the famous lexicon of Amarasiṃha nor in any known lexicographical work other than the Trikāṇḍaśeṣa of Puruṣottamadeva (ed. Calcutta 2, 2, 6). But the interpretation given by Puruṣottamadeva (*kūṭāgāraṃ cātha kapiśīrṣaṃ khoḍakaśīrṣakaṃ kramaśīrṣam*) obviously only concerns the meaning of *kūṭāgāra* in a special and probably later application (cf. Pali *kapisīsa* "lintel of a door") and does not teach anything regarding the earlier use and original sense of the word. There is not much to be derived from the data procured by those passages of the Rāmāyaṇa either, where the *kūṭāgāra* is spoken of, nor from the explanations by the scholiast. Neither from Rām. 1, 5, 15 (schol.) *kūṭākhyair agārair gṛhaiḥ strīṇāṃ krīḍāgṛhair iti yāvat kūṭāḥ śālāḥ, agāraṃ gṛham ity anye*, nor from Rām. 5, 9, 14 (schol.) *kūṭāgārair guptasvalpagṛhaiḥ*, nor from Rām. 6, 123, 24 (schol.) *kūṭāgāraiḥ śālāgṛhaiḥ* can conclusions be drawn as to the special character of the *kūṭāgāra* and its characteristic form. The passage of the Mṛcchakaṭika referred to above (*kūṭāgāre baddha Aryakanāmā tvayā*) does not shed any more light on the problem. The simile in the Viṣṇupurāṇa (6, 3, 36) suggests some resemblance to

1) *Rām.* ed. Bombay 1, 5, 15; 5, 9, 14; 6, 123, 24, cf. ed. Gorresio 5, 12, 45; *Mṛcch.* ed. Stenzler p. 174; *Viṣṇup.* ed. Bombay 6, 3, 36.

2) See *Pali Dict.* ed. by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and W. STEDE, 1925, s.v. *kūṭa*².

clouds, it is true, but for the rest it leaves the special shape of the *kūṭāgāra* to be guessed. No argument whatsoever can be deduced from the passages quoted to prove the *kūṭāgāra* to have been a building on the top of a house as assumed by Wilson ("an upper room, an apartment on the top of a house"), the PW ("Dachzimmer, Belvedere"), Capeller ("upper room") and, as far as the compound *kūṭāgāramatta* is concerned, even by the Pali Dictionary ("upper chamber"). The interpretations stated in the latter works are the less probable since buildings constructed on the roof of a house, like the *candraśālā* ("moonhouse") and the *gṛhātigṛhaka* ("house upon a house") are explicitly explained as such by the scholiast (Rām. 5, 7, 2 *candraśālāḥ śirogṛhāṇi*; Rām. 5,12, 15 *gṛhātigṛhakā gṛhoparigṛhā iti*). In the case of *kūṭāgāra* no allusion to such a meaning is made at all. Accordingly the translation "upper room" has been obviously established on account of the datum of the Trikāṇḍaśeṣa and on the supposed etymology of the word, *kūṭāgāra* being taken as a tatpuruṣa compound, the *pūrvapada* of which stands for an original locative ("room upon a top") cut on the pattern of *samudragṛha* and the like [3]). But such a view is by no means necessary. On the contrary, when comparing similar compounds which have *kūṭa* as *pūrvapada*, e.g. *Kūṭaśaila* "Peak-mountain" (nom. pr.; cf. *Trikūṭa* "Three-peak", *Hemakūṭa* "Gold-peak"), and Pali *kūṭaṅga* "shoulder" (cf. the commentary on the Vimānavatthu 123: *ettha kūṭan ti aṃsakūṭaṃ vuttaṃ purimapadalopena, kūṭam eva aṅgan ti kūṭaṅgam*) the translation "point-house, house with a point" is suggested.

More positive material as to the latter explanation of *kūṭāgāra* is procured by the Pali texts, from which the correct meaning has already partly been gathered by the Pali Dictionary. From the rather numerous instances where the word *kūṭāgāra* is mentioned, so much is clear that the *kūṭa* was a part of the *kūṭāgāra* and not the place on which it was built. This plainly follows from the Aṅguttaranikāya I, 261: *seyyathāpi, gahapati, kūṭāgāre ducchanne kūṭaṃ pi arakkhitaṃ hoti, gopānasiyo pi arakkhitā honti, bhitti pi arakkhitā hoti, kūṭaṃ pi avassutaṃ hoti* etc. The same may be concluded from the Saṃyuttanikāya V, 228: *seyyathāpi, bhikkhave, yāva kūṭāgārassa kūṭaṃ na ussitaṃ hoti, neva tāva gopānasīnaṃ saṇṭhiti hoti, neva tāva gopānasīnam avaṭṭhiti hoti, yato ca kho, bhikkhave, kūṭāgārassa kūṭaṃ ussitaṃ hoti, atha kho gopānasīnaṃ saṇṭhiti hoti* etc. It is even expressed *totidem verbis* in two other passages of about the same wording and tenor in the Saṃyuttanikāya (III, 156 and V, 43; *cf.* V, 75) where, moreover, *kūṭa* is explained by *agga* (Skt. *agra*): *seyyathāpi, bhikkhave, kūṭāgārassa yā kāci gopānasiyo, sabbā tā kūṭaṅgamā kūṭaninnā kūṭasamosaraṇā, kūṭaṃ tāsam aggam akkhāyati, evam eva kho, bhikkhave, yathā heṭṭhimasuttantam evaṃ vitthāretabbam.* From this place we see, that the beams (*gopānasiyo*) of the *kūṭāgāra* all converge to the *kūṭa* which, again, is explained by *agga* ("tip, point, summit, peak"). Consequently the *kūṭāgāra* was not a building standing on the top of a house, but having a roof ending in a point (*kūṭaṅgama, kūṭaninna, kūṭasamosaraṇa*). Indirectly this

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3) Cf. LASSEN, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, II, p. 421, note 4; BURNOUF, *Introduction*, pp. 46 and 74; J. C. DE COCK, *Eene Oudindische Stad volgens het Epos*, Groningen, 1899, p. 118.

may also be inferred from the commentary on the Vimānavatthu 6: *pīṭhadānānubhāvena c' assā yojaniko kanakapallaṅko nibbatti ākāsacārī sīghajavo upari kūṭāgārasaṇṭhāno, tena taṃ pīṭhavimānan ti vuccati,* where a golden couch (*kanakapallaṅko*) is said to resemble a *kūṭāgāra* at the top, which involves some similar form of the latter. The Pali Dictionary, while reading *uparikūṭāgāṛasaṇṭhāno* instead of *upari kūṭāgārasaṇṭhāno,* has been caused to adopt the meaning "a building with an upper storey", which fails to be right, since from the commentary on the Pethavatthu 11 *heṭṭha manussa-saṇṭhānam, upari sūkara-saṇṭhānam* ("underneath resembling a man, at the top resembling a hog") the adverbial use of *upari* is sufficiently clear [4]).

Again, the conclusions drawn from Pali literature as to the meaning of *kūṭāgāra,* already suggested by Skt. *kūṭaśaila* quoted above, are cogently confirmed by a passage of the Nīlamata [5]). In this work it is told, how once a year a procession (*yātrā*) is to be held in honour of the brahminical and popular deities of old Kashmir. On the day of the procession, it is said, a *kūṭāgāra* is to be made and adorned with garments, garlands, jewels, and flags; the image of the god is to be placed in it and subsequently the *kūṭāgāra* is to be drawn through the town to the temple. In *śl.* 861 instead of *kūṭāgāra* the compound *kūṭagṛha* is used; in an old *Śāradā* MS., however, according to the Lahore edition, the reading *koṭimandira* is found. However this *varia lectio* may be judged from the point of view of textual criticism, it deserves careful consideration as a commentative datum. Now, *koṭimandira* leaves no doubt as to the form of the building in question; for *koṭi* unlike *kūṭa* does not allow of a double interpretation. *Koṭi,* indeed, means "point, edge, tip" and, leaving aside its use as *uttarapada* of a compound like *tṛṇakoṭi* ("grass-point") and *stanakoṭi* ("breast-point, nipple"), it is also found as *pūrvapada* in the proper name *Koṭikarṇa* ("Point-ear"). Accordingly the term *koṭimandira* cannot but mean "point-house" and this being identical with *kūṭāgāra* settles the question.

It cannot be mere chance that the *kūṭāgāra* is especially mentioned at a breath with *prāsada,* of which it may be considered as it were the architectonic complement, the *prāsāda* being characterized over against the *kūṭāgāra* by its flat roof. Syntactically viewed the word *kūṭāgāra* is a good instance of a tatpuruṣa compound with *pūrvapada* standing for an original *instrumentalis qualitatis* in accordance with Pāṇini 2, 3, 21 *itthaṃbhūtalakṣaṇe* (sc. *tṛtīyā*) expounded by the Kāśikā as *itthaṃbhūtasya lakṣaṇe.* For this kind of compounds, apart from *kūṭaśaila* already discussed above, *daśā-pavitra* ("strainer with fringe"), *chāyā-taru* ("tree with shadow"), *agni-śālā* ("room with fire") and similar compounds may appositely be compared. The analysis of *kūṭāgāra* as given above at the same time refutes the suggestion made by De Cock (*op. cit.* p. 118) in an interrogative way of its being a compound with *kūṭa* "deceit" as its first member.

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4) Further particulars of minor importance for our purpose are found in Saṃyuttanikāya II, 103 (V, 218), IV, 186; Aṅguttaranikāya III, 34; Vimānavatthu 8, 2.

5) *Nīlamata,* ed. Leyden 857 ff.; ed. Lahore 1028 ff.

THE SO-CALLED SUN-GOD OF MULTAN

by

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In view of recent discoveries I wish to recapitulate the substance of my paper Multan: the House of Gold, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1937, pp. 60-72, to which I invite a reference [1]. That contribution was concerned with a group of Indo-Sassanian coins stated by Sir Alexander Cunningham to have been struck by kings of Sind; they bear the effigy of a deity which Cunningham described as the sun-god of Multan. This attribution has held the field for fifty years, and has been widely accepted. My object was to show that the coins do not belong to Sind, and that the deity is not the sun-god of Multan.

The history of Sind called the Chachnāmah terms Multan 'a prop of the kingdom of Sind and Hind'; it was always the capital of the south-west Punjab. The Rai-dynasty of Sind, which is said to have reigned 137 years, was subverted by the Brahman Chach whose accession is placed about the year A.D. 642. At this time the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang came to the Multan country. Amongst the temples of other religions was the magnificent fane of the Sun-deva; the image was of gold, and the kings and nobles of all India made offerings to it. When Multan was captured by the Arabs, *c.* A.D. 712, their leader Muḥammad ibn Kāsim went to the temple where he found an idol made of gold with two eyes of red rubies in its head [2]. The temple treasure was contained in forty large copper jars; this great hoard together with jewels, pearls, and other plunder was sent off in boats to Dewal. Its immensity was such that Multan was called by the early Arab historians and geographers 'the *Farkh-i-Bait-uz-Zahab*, the Temple of the House or Vault of Gold'. The references are conveniently summarized by Major Raverty, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1892, pp. 186 f.

The magnificent income of the House of Gold consisted of offerings made to a famous idol. A well-known group of three coins of Indo-Sassanian type bears on the reverse side the full-face bust of a deity which is also found on an exceptional and very rare issue in gold and silver of the Sassanian king Khusru Parvez (Khusru II), who reigned from A.D.

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1) See also *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress of 1936*, London 1938, p. 448.

2) Another famous idol of this kind was that of Zun in the country of Zābul. Vide *Encycl. of Islam*, article Zun.

590 to 628. The pieces have attracted the attention of the great experts in turn—James Prinsep, H. H. Wilson, Edward Thomas, Alexander Cunningham, Édouard Drouin. They have agreed to disagree about the legends; the full and correct interpretation still eludes us after a century of effort [3]). It is only in the last few years that real progress has been made in the decipherment of inscriptions in so-called corrupt Greek characters [4]).

The essay entitled 'Later Indo-Scythians, Ephthalites, or White Huns' (*Num. Chron.* 1894) embodies the mature experience of Sir Alexander Cunningham, in fact it is a posthumous work. He states that the famous temple at Multan was a temple of the sun-god, that it was built by the Ephthalite or Hūṇa chief Toramāṇa, and that the image of this sun-god appears on a group of coins belonging to rulers whom Cunningham calls actual kings of Multan, and identifies with members of the Rai-dynasty of Sind. The weight of evidence is in favour of the idol of Multan being a sun-god. The relation of the coins with Khusru II brings them within the period of the Rai kings, but the identification of the rulers who issued these coins with members of the shadowy Rai-dynasty is little more than surmise, as is the idea that the temple at Multan was built by the Ephthalites.

Now we come to the coins themselves. Sir Alexander Cunningham 'ventured to suggest the identification of the rayed bust with the sun-god of Multan because the same bust appears on the coins of Shāhi Tigīn, and of Vasu Deva, the actual kings of Multan", *op. cit.*, p. 291. Mr F. D. J. Paruck wrote of "the gold and silver coins of Khusru II struck at Multan". This view of the case, based on Cunningham, is further elaborated with useful references [5]). The coin of Shāhi Tigīn, preferably (as read by Drouin) Vāhi with the Turkish title Tigīn, is the celebrated trilingual piece illustrated by Cunningham, *op. cit.*, Pl. X, 9. The first specimens were found by General Ventura and by Masson (whose real name was James Lewis) in the eighteen thirties, the classic period of discovery, vide Ariana Antiqua, London, 1841, p. 400 and Pl. XXI, 22. There are fifty-five specimens in the British Museum. Cunningham read the Pahlavi reverse legend to right as *Takān Khorāsān Malka,* "the king of Takān and Khorāsān", and took it as the equivalent of the supposed 'king of Iran and non-Iran' of the Brahmi marginal obverse inscription since Takān was the name of the Panjab. The bust on the reverse is described as a male head to front, with rayed flames ascending to a point, the sun-god of Multan.

The coin of Vasu Deva is Cunningham, *op. cit.*, Pl. X, 10; there are eight specimens in the British Museum. This coin also goes back to the early days of discovery; it is Ariana Antiqua, Pl. XVII, 9. The piece is a close copy of its prototype, the silver drachm of Khusru II. Cunningham read the obverse legend in Pahlavi to left as *Wahman Multan Malka,* 'king of Bahman and Multan'; Bahman was taken as referring to Bahmanabad, an old capital of Sind. The Pahlavi legends on the reverse were interpreted as *Takān Zaū-*

3) Vide Vincent SMITH's remarks in *Indian Museum Coin Catalogue*, Vol. I, p. 234.

4) As embodied in the work of Professors HERZFELD and JUNKER, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 38; *Kushano-Sassanian Coins*, by Ernst HERZFELD, Calcutta 1930; *Die Hephthalitischen Münzinschriften*, by Dr Heinrich F. J. JUNKER, Berlin 1930.

5) *Sasanian Coins*, by F. D. J. PARUCK, Bombay 1924, p. 125, 269.

lastan, 'Punjab, Zabulistan', and *Sapardalakhshan*, 'Rajputana'. The name Vasu Deva in Brahmi characters occurs in the reverse field.

A third coin is in the British Museum and appears to be still unique: it is Cunningham, *op. cit.*, Pl. X, 11. The portrait resembles that of Vāhi in style. The legends are in Kushan Greek and in Pahlavi; the only certain word is the equivalent of Zabulistan.

In the paper from which I am quoting I published a fourth 'sun-god' piece—*Num. Chron.*, 1937, p. 72—very small, weight 7,2 grains; the royal bust is Ephthalite in style.

I am convinced from my own experience in the Panjab that these coins are not typical of Multan and Sind, and that they had nothing to do with those parts. The find spots are usually on the N.W. Frontier, and in Afghanistan. Cunningham writes of the Vāhi coins 'Two specimens were obtained by Ventura in the Manikyala Stupa. Dr Lord got forty to the north of the Caucasus. I have received some twenty or thirty from Kabul, and I am aware that a few have been found in Sind and Kach'. Three out of Cunningham's four specimens of Vasu Deva came from the Masson Collection, and Masson got his coins in Afghanistan. To my mind the evidence of the find spots is in itself conclusive. Then again the obscure Rai dynasty, whose boundaries are limited to Sind, cannot be identified with kings of Zabulistan and Khorasan—*Num. Chron.*, 1937, p. 66. Also the interpretation of the Brahmi legend of the Vāhi coins still remains uncertain because the characters are imperfectly formed and vary on different specimens. The die-sinker was so poorly acquainted with the Indian alphabet that the legend has not yet been read with certainty. On some Vasu Deva coins the Indian legend is written from right to left. These facts indicate an origin outside India proper. I agree with Edward Thomas that the triple legend points to the borderlands of India and Iran where various languages met and interchanged methods of writing. In my opinion the factor which decided Cunningham was that he could see no other meaning of the Pahlavi words *mltan mlka* than 'king of Multan'. I have the great authority of Professor Ernst Herzfeld for stating that *mltan* means *mardān*; *mardān shāh* is a well-known name or title. The deity on the reverse of the coins is copied from money of Khusru II; this is without mint monogram, but there is no reason to conclude that it was struck in India. When I wrote my paper in 1936, Professor Herzfeld held that the deity was an Iranian goddess. I still think that the bust is feminine.

The prototype of the reverse design of these Indo-Sassanian coins was discussed by Dr John Walker in 'Some Recent Oriental Coin Acquisitions of the British Museum', *Num. Chron.*, 1935, pp. 241 f. Two outstanding pieces are the drachms of Khusru II illustrated at Pl. XVIII, 2 and 3. Dr Walker discusses the problem of the correct interpretation of the reverse figure. The beardless face looks female, and a queen has been suggested, vide p. 244; in Cunningham's opinion it was the Indian sun-god of Multan. Dr Walker observes that while it is unlikely that Multan has anything to do with it, the figure is more likely to be a youthful representation of the solar deity as it occupies the position on the reverse usually filled by the customary fire altar, also because of the peculiar flaming halo surrounding the crowned head. I may remark here that the plain knobbed head-dress with two rows of pearls or embroidery at the base entirely differs from the royal crown. Dr Walker

adds that in any case there is no reason to suppose that the figure is the particular solar deity whose temple or 'house of gold' at Multan is frequently mentioned by the chroniclers. In fact the name *Airān* of the reverse legend of these drachms of Khusru II suggests the sun-god of Iran. The same reverse legend occurs on the only three known gold pieces of Khusru II of the same type; these are illustrated at Paruck, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXI, 455, 456 and 457.

Professor A. M. Honeyman has published a paper on Indo-Sassanian Relations based on a study presented to the Glasgow University Oriental Society on 28th September, 1938. It is a helpful summary supported by a useful list of references, though I differ from the foot-note to the effect that 'in years 21 and 37 of Khusru II's reign were struck at Multan the only Sassanian coins known to have been minted outside of Persia'.

A new and important coin found at Shapur is described and illustrated by R. Ghirshman in his paper 'Une Monnaie de Zyad I Abu Sofian, Gouverneur du Fars', contributed to *Mélanges Syriens, offerts à M. R. Dussaud* [6]). It is a thin square copper piece of Arab-Sassanian type, size .64 inches, obverse design Sassanian bust to right with name Zyād in Pahlavi letters, reverse design the well-known divinity discussed above with date A. H. 56, and mint uncertain. The author emphasizes the importance of this piece, the portraiture, the shape, the early date; it is the first Arab-Sassanian coin to be found in copper. The reverse bears the effigy of a deity which must have been derived from the money of Khusru II with the full-face divinity. In the second excavation season at Shapur, four round copper pieces of Khusru himself were found of this rare type, clearly prototypes of that of Zyad, vide Mr Ghirshman's Plate. He remarks on the interpretation of the deity by Cunningham as the sun-god of Multan which he says has been generally adopted, and observes that Professor Herzfeld prefers an Iranian goddess. In his own explanation Mr Ghirshman, like Dr. Walker, stresses the unbroken continuity of the fire *motif* as the reverse design of the Sassanian money; hence the reasonable presumption that this full face divinity is also the fire deity of Iran. One ground in favour of Cunningham's interpretation was that the years of the coins of Khusru II did not predate the 37th year of his reign, the year following his supposed conquest of Multan, and it has been suggested that they were struck in honour of that victory, vide E. Drouin, Observations sur les monnaies à légende en pehlvi et pehlvi arabe, *Revue Archéologique*, XLIII. This interpretation falls to the ground because three of the four new copper coins found at Shapur have dates 16, 20 and 34. Also the probability is that these so-called 'Multan' pieces of Indo-Sassanian type were copied from Khusru II's own coins and not *vice versa*; I entirely agree. Mr. Ghirshman views the development of the fire *motif* on the reverse of Sassanian coins as follows. Certain coins of Hormazd II show a fire deity appearing amongst the flames; after divers changes this image becomes an anthropoid pyre, and finally it occupies the entire field on certain pieces of Khusru II; imitated by the Indo-Sassanian group, it makes its last appearance as such on the first Arab-Sassanian copper money.

6) I am indebted for this and the previous reference to the kindness of Dr John Walker of the British Museum Coin Room. For the Arab governor Zyad, see Dr WALKER's British Museum *Catalogue of Arab-Sassanian Coins*, London 1941, p. xlii.